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This conference report is comprised of 23 papers which represent the Third National Conference of the Tri-University Project in which faculty members from more than 60 institutions work with the staffs of three universities (New York University and the Universities of Nebraska and Washington) to determine how elementary school teachers ought to be trained. The papers deal with the general lack of knowledge about children in our culture and the too frequent failure to reach them, the reasons for the failure of higher education to encourage competent teaching, the results of cooperation between the disciplines and education, possible influences that higher education might have on public schools, the effect of more adequate professional training in clinical schools, and the problem of training teachers to allow children to think and to imagine. In addition, the report contains the recommendations of the Conference concerning the recruitment and training of better teachers. (JS)

ED028171

CHILDREN IN A PROMISED LAND

Third National Conference
The U.S. Office of Education Tri-University Project in Elementary Education
May 23-25, 1968
Salt Lake City, Utah

TE 001 324

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CHILDREN IN A PROMISED LAND

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The Disciplines

The Schools

The Culture

Report of the Third National
Conference of the Tri-University
Project in Elementary English
May 23-25, 1968
Salt Lake City, Utah

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Children in a Promised Land

by Paul Olson

The Third National Conference of the Tri-University Project was held in Salt Lake City May 23 thru May 25, 1968. The purpose of the conference was to acquaint the administrators of the more than thirty colleges and universities which have had professors on leave to participate in the project in 1967-68 (and those of the institutions which will have people on leave to the project in 1968-69) with the curricular programs which project members have elaborated for the training of teachers of children. The speakers at the conference were the faculty members from these institutions. They had spent the past academic year at NYU, the University of Washington, and Nebraska University studying the behavioral sciences, the social sciences, and English. The conference also had a second subtle insinuating purpose -- to get the administrators to put as much muscle as possible into the reform of their own programs for training the teachers of children. The administrators who attended the conference were deans of Colleges of Education and Colleges of Arts and Sciences, and that both sets of deans were there was not accidental. For approximately 40% of the job of Higher Education lies in the area of the training of teachers, and half of that 40% lies in the pre-service training of elementary teachers. Over half of the training of elementary teachers is done in courses in Colleges of Arts and Sciences: general education courses -- courses in English, the social sciences, science and mathematics. In some states such as California, courses in 'subject matter' majors or area concentrations constitute the core of an elementary teacher's training. What the deans said to their staff members -- those who had participated in the Tri-University Project and who had curricular plans for their home institutions, whether they felt that they could support plans which their people had elaborated while on leave, is not known. That was a matter of private conference at Salt Lake City; it probably will remain a matter of negotiation across the next year or two as the deans in Education and in the disciplines and the staffs of the participating colleges look at what the staff member who acted as an emissary from the institution to the Tri-University Project has in the way of new ideas for reorganizing what the institution does to train elementary teachers.

For the Tri-University project is an emissary's project. In its first two years, more than sixty institutions have sent one or more faculty members to the project to work with staff especially assembled by the three universities. The purpose of the work of the staffs of the three universities and of the emissaries to them has been to think through, to 'research,' to 'try out' with kids and elementary teachers (who are also part of the project) answers to the question of how teachers ought to be trained.

The title for this report comes from Mr. Ezer's report to the conference concerning his efforts to train black ghetto high school dropouts to make a curriculum for elementary school kids who were being subjected to the very alienation processes which eventually brought the dropouts to leave high school:

> The 'Promised Land' of which I speak is a schoolroom where black children would be able to feel a total sense of belonging and ease: a schoolroom where they would feel neither alienated nor threatened, but where they would rather feel that they had been encouraged and well taught.

The metaphors of Egyptian exile and captivity, of pilgrimage, and of coming into the land which is one's inheritance have been, of course, common metaphors in the eschatological language of black culture. The same metaphor has played a major role in the history of the Mormon people in whose capital the conference met. There, the symbols of the Mormon conception of the special relationship existent between the ancient Hebrew peoples and modern Mormonism greet one everywhere on the city's tabernacles and temples. The Exodus metaphor has often been appropriated in the history of our country to describe quests other than purely religious ones: the search for political rights for Jews, the Scandinavian immigrant's search for land in the west and freedom from service in the King's army, the Calvinist's quasi-religious search for an independent political-religious community in Massachusetts. But the metaphor has not, so far as I know, been commonly used as an analogy to describe what education has done to children or what it may do for them. However, the extension of the metaphor to the area of education may not be inappropriate, for 'education' seems to have become -- at least in the mythology of informed opinion -- the channel of access to power (and so to 'liberty') once formed by Church and curia in the fourteenth century and by city and commerce in the eighteenth.

In any case, some of the Salt Lake City speakers seemed to be saying that school is like parts of the Exodus story. To some of them, it seemed a place where children are forced by 'aliens' to do what they do not wish to do or to perform meaningless mechanical acts; it seemed a place where a culture is destroyed -- a melting pot. It seemed a place which tells us that we do not know what is happening to our people. Or it seemed a place which tells kids that the journey is too long or too meaningless. Others of the speakers, recalling the entry part of the 'metaphor,' seemed to be saying that things can happen in schools to make kids feel that the 'land' is their own and that they are free beings: that schools can be embodiments of local culture and local mythoi without becoming 'reservations' which cut the child off from the main current of our life, that children can be asked to think for themselves in school; that schools are becoming places where kids can speak of their sense of liberty and of bondage through the fantasies which they set down and the environments which they shape. These seemed to be saying that schools are becoming -- or could easily become -- places where kids could evaluate and affect the school process. They seemed to say that children can easily be given honest information -- honest data about which to think. They suggest that we can change things so that children will avoid being overwhelmed by the specious benign myths and the bad scholarship which we too frequently foist on them. These speakers promise much. They may promise too much. Given the distance between childhood and adulthood, between a child's knowledge and adult knowledge, in our society; given the insensitivity of our economic system to differences among cultures and the extent to which education perforce represents, by way of initiation, the demands which are made upon people by large corporate organized structures (the demands of a system rather of a community), it may be too much to try to imagine schools which are, in any sense, a 'promised land.' The job of the schools is very difficult. Part of the seemingly meaningless bureaucratic difficulty which they impose on children -- their love of the lock step -- may be viewed as useful preparation for the meaningless bureaucratic difficulties which children will experience as adults: the 'stepping-to' which they will have to do as part of the large institutional organizations which are the essence of our society. It is surely a little idle to expect the school to be what our society cannot be. Yet, if we cannot offer to children a 'promised land' even in Mr. Ezer's sense, we can do better than we are.

The Coleman report indicates the single most important factor in a child's exodus from poverty is the quality of the teacher which he is given. We do not have much reason to be sanguine about the teachers which our children are being given. 1967 NEA statistics suggest that the shortage of elementary teachers in the country -- if minimal conditions were to be met -- would amount to about 150,000. Of the teachers who were credentialed in 1966, almost 50% were credentialed at institutions miserably supported by their state legislatures (or constituencies) and at the 'bottom of the list' in the AAUP ratings of faculty salary levels (most of the Negro teachers in America were educated at such institutions). Ten times as much money was spent for each year of credential-training given to a doctor or a dentist as was spent for each year of credential-training given the average school teacher. We are recruiting women for over 90% of our elementary classrooms in a time when the power of intellect and the advantages of education desperately need to be represented to boys by men as early as possible -- particularly to boys who come from homes where the man of the house cannot represent the power of education or where the men whom the boy knows have been denied a decent education. In a time when good teaching has never been more needed in the elementary school, it has never been less valued in the colleges which shape the elementary teacher's values. In a time when we need teachers who are willing to use the school as an instrument to transform society -- people of high imagination, courage, and flamboyancy -- we seem to be recruiting the cautious, prudent, middle class person, the provincial and insulated person, to our teaching ranks (if NEA statistics and Coleman report statistics are to be believed). We are probably getting better people than we deserve, given what we invest in their recuiting and training and what we expect of them (we do tend to expect teachers to make springs flow from rocks). But the 'flashing eye' and 'floating hair' traditionally associated with the teacher who can conduct an exodus are not the repertory of "desirable teaching behaviors" which we encourage in college and school. The newly militant orders of teachers, seeking to develop the image of the profession as one which seeks the nation's interests, may eventually claim for teachers a vatic mantle. But this has not yet happened. And 'a good job of teaching' is not enough now.

The Salt Lake City conference set forth a series of recommendations which may make it possible for us to recruit and train teachers who can do a better job. Carrying them out will cost a great deal in money and emotional commitment. Higher Education will have to decide that it is going to do a better job before any of the specific recommendations of Salt Lake City will mean anything, and that will be hard.

The Salt Lake City recommendations were:

(1) That people in the disciplines offer elementary teachers intensive, specially-designed training in the disciplines, training relevant to the elementary school in such areas as:

  (1) Anthropology, Sociology, and the 'New Geography';
  (2) Linguistics and Psycholinguistics, and the study of language in relation to social groups (dialects, sociolinguistics, etc.);
  (3) Literary criticism, the analysis of myth, and the analysis of collective and individual fantasy;
  (4) Cognitive theory and the study of human behavior (as interpreted by everyone from behaviorists to psychoanalysts).

(This list might be expanded to include basic theory in mathematics and the physical sciences were these areas within the Tri-University project's province).

(2) That Departments and Colleges of Education think of themselves as professional schools in the sense that Colleges of Medicine and Law think of themselves as 'professional.' (If they are to do this, they and departments in the disciplines will have to concern themselves with the relationship between the basic axioms of a discipline, which permit a child to 'make sense' of his world, and how those axioms are learned. This kind of substantive/ psychological training can only be given to the elementary teacher in inter-disciplinary programs jointly mounted by Education and the disciplines.) (See section II of the report).

(3) That clinical schools be set up which permit Higher Education to do a really 'gutsy' (or, if you like, professional) job of training teachers. (First, clinical schools should be set up which permit Higher Education to do meaningful research concerning the business of education, schools which permit research to inform policy. Second, clinical schools should be set up which permit the teacher-in-training, working with a clinical professor, to learn to control the political, technological and political environment of the school in neighborhoods where education is difficult and to experiment with teaching as an art form on the analogy of the dance or acting. Third, clinical schools should be set up which allow teachers-to-be to work with a range of cultural groups, authority systems, myth systems, and cognitive styles.)

(4) That people in the disciplines and in Education be encouraged to get out into the schools. (The purpose here would be to get them to do some teaching there, to develop their sense of how their research areas may illumine the teacher's understanding of curricula, and to give them a sense of what their research areas may tell them of what children are, what the social reality is which they encounter, and what is the relationship between the child and his society as he seeks to enter it through education; we need to know, of a child, what his fantasies are, what his thought and language are, what is his sense of the physical world or of the people who surround him. Such studies might be done on individual children or groups of children both by the teacher-to-be and by the college professor and inform the teaching practice of both. Such studies are represented in this volume.)

(5) That the teacher-to-be learn in clinical school how to create a curriculum for this kid and that one: how to ask questions which encourage children to think; how to shift the responsibility for learning and for organizing the classroom group to children; and how to get children to say where they are in their exodus through the creations they make.

(6) That the whole profession of teaching be opened up to include all kinds of people who are normally alienated from education but who can teach -- who can, most of all, teach us where we have failed to do a good job of teaching.

Salt Lake City, in short, seemed to suggest that what is essential is that the 'community' and the 'culture' be brought into the school in manifold ways and that teachers-to-be learn from the human communities in which they work even as they try to teach in ways sufficiently humane to make the 'system' seem almost a community. Evaluation is not something which teachers do to children or which training programs do to teachers-to-be. It is something which we all do to each other. Evaluation is only meaningful if it permits the changing of the system. The model for evaluation which Messrs. Grangaard and Coon propose in their article is a very humane one. One thing it lacks: that is, a proposal for an evaluation of the education of teachers by the communities, the parents, the groups to whom those teachers are sent. The essays which follow put some flesh on the recommendations which I have listed above and suggest systems for making them workable. They also give the reader a sense of where there was controversy and where there was agreement among the three universities involved in the project or among their participants. We have no infallible dogmas, no tablets of stone to break.

I have arranged the volume in a sequence which seems to me to suggest what we did have at Salt Lake City better than did the organization of the conference itself:

I. Section I (Education and Culture) frames the problem of the volume by suggesting what we do not know of children in our own culture and why we are, too often, not getting through to them.

II. Section II suggests, in Mr. Bigelow's paper, why Higher Education has failed to do a good job of encouraging the art of competent teaching and, in the remainder of the section, suggests what the disciplines and education might together do.

III. Section III suggests how Higher Education might be brought back to the schools in a meaningful way and what might happen in clinical schools which really gave professional training to teachers.

IV. Section IV speaks of children's thinking and imagining as seen in a clinical school setting.

I have edited the papers sharply. I have condensed; I have expanded; I have taken papers which were not presented at Salt Lake City to fill in the picture. I have combined what people said at Salt Lake with written material which they presented to the participants in the conference. If I have distorted the record, my only plea is that I did so in trying to make the fullest possible representation of what the Tri-University Project is about. It is about our time's exile and its hoping.

Thoreau tells the fable of an ancient Japanese wood carver who, trying to create a walking stick, eventually made a new cosmos. The Tri-University project is, perhaps, a whittler's effort.

I

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Children in a Promised Land

Mel Ezer

Mr. Mel Ezer was formerly at an eastern urban university and will, next year, be at Arizona State University. Mr. Ezer's essay, besides furnishing the title and theme of this book, suggests the bringing together of two forces already at large in Elementary Education: (1) the Leicestershire infant school's emphasis on using older children to teach younger; (2) the emphasis of Art Pearl and Frank Riessman (New Careers for the Poor) upon the use of unemployed or underemployed members of those communities which are presently alienated from the educational process as aides, assistants, part time teachers and eventually teachers of the young: to give the underemployed a job, to reconcile unreconciled communities, and to move those people who are presently alienated from education back into the educational process in authentic policy-making positions. Mr. Ezer's short biography of the kids who taught in his project suggests how far from life as it is are the pictures of it offered in the schools. It also suggests where are created the chasms which separate children in one culture from the schools made by another culture. They are created in the welfare office, the police office, the employment agency as well as in the school. Mr. Ezer's point: that the black ghetto community must write the curriculum for the black ghetto is better suggested by the video tapes which were shown at the time he presented his paper than by his paper. For they show how subtle and intuitive matters of teaching style may be and how subtle may be the voice which tells a man in a specific situation what real poetry is. Mr. Ezer's paper may be seen as, in part, an answer to Mr. Robert Hess's papers presented at the first Tri-University Conference describing the desert wastes separating the ghetto school and the ghetto parent and child (cf. The Craft of Teaching and the Schooling of Teachers). It may also be seen as an effort to answer Herb Kohl's suggestion -- expressed privately at the first Tri-University conference -- that the educational problems of the black ghetto can no longer be dealt with on the bases which Mr. Kohl used to deal with them when he wrote 36 Children. Then it seemed possible that integrated teaching staffs could create relevant and meaningful curricula for black ghetto kids in the most difficult areas. Mr. Kohl did. But he half sensed that what he did a few years ago might not be possible now as tensions have heightened and as the sense of black community has developed. Integrated teaching staffs may still be possible, and meaningful curricula may still be written by them for the worst of ghettoes. If they are not possible, Mr. Ezer suggests how we might work. And if they are possible, he suggests where those who make them might learn.

Children In A Promised Land

Melvin Ezer
Arizona State University

In considering the general topic for today's session: 'Education and Its Relationship to Culture,' I intend to deal with a specific culture, the Black Culture. It may appear strange that, although I wish to speak of Black Culture, I am not in a position to describe or analyze this culture. I am most reluctant to say anything about it because of my experiences in talking with people from the black community. Invariably they say with bitterness that although black people have contributed a long and great heritage to music, art, literature and other areas of life, the white community has accepted the culture, but not the man. I am not an anthropologist and so I cannot speak of 'black culture' from an expert's perspective. And since I am not a black man -- not part of his culture -- I find I am unable to speak of black culture as a participant with any degree of insight or honesty. I do know there is a black culture; I do know it greatly influences black children, but how I am not quite certain.

I feel at this point that some explanation of the title of my presentation, 'Children In a Promised Land,' is in order. I did not 'steal' the title from Claude Brown's book nor did I take it from Martin Luther King's last sermon. I might have been influenced by those two works of literature, but I came to the title by myself. The 'Promised Land' of which I speak is a schoolroom where black children would be able to feel a total sense of belonging and ease: a schoolroom where they would feel neither alienated, nor threatened, but where they would rather feel that they had been encouraged and taught well.

Allow me to describe how it was that I started 'working' with children in totally black classrooms. Last year I was a departmental chairman at an urban university (not the one on the title page). The city in which the university is located is a microcosm of any large metropolitan area in the United States; it has all of the pressing problems of which you are all aware. The majority of the students enrolled in Elementary Education at this institution came from the large metropolitan areas of the northeast and usually began their teaching careers in the 'ghettos' of these cities. One of my first introductions to the university was a request by students that I be present at a student meeting where a recent graduate of the university would describe her first year of teaching. She had taught in a black community close to the university. At the meeting, this student spoke of her frustrations; she described her failures; and she related her misery and pain. She concluded by saying, "Do you know that these kids don't even call me by my name: in addressing me they say, 'Hey, white lady.' " I was both moved and crushed by this student's recital.

I invited this young teacher to speak to my faculty as she had done to her peers in the hope that she might serve as a catalyst in bringing about change in our existing programs and also with the hope that she might inspire some of the faculty to become more involved in the educational problems of the 'ghetto.' This 'inspiration' proved to be a rather foolish error. The response of her former instructors to her narrative was not the introspection I had hoped for but instant crucifixion. The faculty's defense went somewhat as follows: 'We are not to blame for your problems; you are the sole cause of your failure. You were a marginal student and now you are a bad teacher. You would be a failure wherever you taught.' It was at this moment that I resigned in spirit from the university. Any hope that I entertained for bringing about change died.

From that time on I focused my attention and energy upon education in the 'black community.' I hate to use such a euphemism. I don't like the word 'inner-city.' I don't like the word 'ghetto.' I would much rather call these communities by their names, but if I were to say to you the 'north end of metropolis X,' it would be meaningless. I was afforded an opportunity this year to work with ghetto children. As a result, there has been a profound change in my life, both my personal life and my professional life. I wish to describe the change, and how it came about.

When I see the failure of the present 'system' of education, especially in the larger cities, when I see schools falling apart, I am restless. I am an activist. When I came to NYU for this 1967-68 Tri-University project year, I was determined to find out what was going on, to see if I, in my way, could not do something to stop the process of deterioration in the large city schools. I assumed two major premises: 1) that at the present time the white man cannot write curriculum for the black man -- because of our disconnectedness, our alienation, our 'dissimilar perceptions,' because the world of reality to those black kids is not our world of reality; 2) that the middle class black man cannot write curriculum for the kids in the ghetto, in the inner-cities -- because of the lack of similarity between his perceptions and those of the ghetto kid. Starting with these assumptions, I wondered, 'Who the hell is going to write this curriculum?' And I get that great thought: 'The Kids Themselves -- the high school dropouts.' I reasoned that if these kids dropped out of school, then school wasn't a very important and 'relevant' experience. I also reasoned that if one were to give some dropouts the opportunity to participate in a relevant experience, then maybe these present dropouts could offer something important and significant and relevant to those who are going to drop out in two, three, four, or five years.

I tried to find the dropouts -- kids with sensitivity, intelligence, and insight. I finally found some who were employed in a Neighborhood Youth program. They were paid a dollar forty an hour for doing rather humdrum things. I asked the director for permission to work with a few of these kids. I started with six, but two dropped out. I am still working with four. I worked and talked with them and established mutual trust and confidence. We learned to know one another.

Who are these four kids I worked with? I learned a good deal about them. I want to describe what their lives are like. Once you begin to understand what their lives are like, you will understand why I say that the white man and the middle class black man cannot write curriculum for these kids. I had two boys and two girls, aged seventeen through nineteen.

First, Rorry. Her mother was white and her father was black. The day after she was born her mother deserted her, so she lived with her father. Then her father remarried, so she lived with her father and a step-mother. She grew very attached to her father, but about five years ago he died. Her step-mother then remarried, so she lived with her step-mother and a step-father, until the step-father left. Now she only lives with her step-mother. About two years ago, she found out who her mother was, that she was now a nice white middle class lady, that she had remarried and was living in New York. Every weekend she tried to confront her real mother but her mother wanted nothing to do with her.

Rorry, seventeen years old, has been arrested twice for stealing cars. In fact, at the beginning of our project she was in jail for forgery; she picked up a credit card and bought about one hundred dollars worth of clothes, not for herself, but for somebody else; she got caught and somebody else got away. She faced a three to five year rap for forgery. As I came to be involved with Rorry's case, I found out a great deal about our court system and about our welfare system, and both are lousy. They are really lousy. When Rorry was sitting in jail, I asked some of my friends who are probation officers what I should do. They said that I should call the prosecutor. I did. The prosecutor thought Rorry mentally retarded. In reality she is a bright, sensitive, and highly intelligent kid. When I told him the kind of work she was doing and begged and pleaded that they reduce the charges, he said, "Are we talking about the same kid?" The charge was reduced, and they gave her another year's probation. Her probation officer, though, was hardly sympathetic to Rorry's case. He refers to these kids in his care as 'social garbage,' 'human refuse.' He says, "I can't afford the luxury of spending time working with four kids; I have 150 cases." This is the kind of system that these kids are bucking. That's one kid.

Let me tell you about Jakie. Jakie left Savannah, Georgia, when he was fourteen years old, and he came up to Connecticut to live with his cousin, a seventeen year old girl. I asked Jakie how a fourteen year old kid and a seventeen year old girl could make a living. Well, Jakie was charged with breaking and entering, so he spent the year in jail: that's how he made out. Before he went to jail, he had one semester of high school, his freshman year, but when he got out of jail, he couldn't return because, at sixteen, he is self-supporting -- on his own. He is nineteen now, and wants to get his high school equivalency. But there's a ridiculous law in the State of Connecticut saying that you cannot take the high school equivalency until your class has graduated. Jakie can pass that high school equivalency any time, but his class won't graduate until 1970. As a result he is restricted in the kinds of job he can get.

Jakie also has another problem: he is trying to prove that he is alive. He was born in Baltimore, Maryland, under a different name, and then he moved with his mother to Savannah. Since most of the plants in the Jakie's city's area are involved in defense work, security reasons demanded that he present a birth certificate. Jakie didn't have one, so every plant turned his job application down. We went to the legal aid society who started a court check but could find no evidence of his birth or his name even when he went to school in Savannah. Evidently they didn't require a birth certificate. I said to myself, "Gee, look at that kid who is trying to prove he is alive. What does this mean to him? How does he perceive himself and others?" Jakie writes poetry, beautiful poetry. He writes and reads his poetry with great sensitivity.

David, seventeen years old, spent six months in jail on a narcotics charge. He tells a story about the policemen bursting into his house. He was sitting in his house one day, and there was a knock on the door. He said, "Who's there?" It was the FBI, and he didn't know what they wanted. He said, "I don't know what you want of me." And they broke the door down. They thought he had robbed the bank, and he hadn't. If he walks down the street at night at ten o'clock, coming home with clothes from the cleaners, perhaps stopping off to shoot pool and eat something, the cops stop him and ask, "Where did you steal that stuff?" This is the kind of life this kid leads. And unjustly so, I say.

And then there's Shirley. She had her first child at fourteen. Probably by today she has her second child. She's eighteen years old now. She has a husband, but he is in jail. The point I'm making in telling about the problems of all these kids is this: I really don't know how they have survived physically and emotionally. But, by God, there's a will to live, a tremendous strength to overcome all these pressures. And they have survived. They have.

I learned to know these kids but when I tried to put them into a schoolroom situation, I ran into trouble -- not from them, but from the schools. I wanted to put them in the public school in their neighborhood so I went to the superintendent of schools, told him what I wanted, and he kicked me out of his office, very politely, but he kicked me out. I went to another school in the community. The administrator here was frightened to allow the kids into a program because dropouts would set up conflicts with those in school. I begged, and she finally let us into the school.

The school was held in basement rooms of a housing project. Kids who were in the public school in the afternoon went to this school in the morning, and kids who were in the public school in the morning went to this school in the afternoon to keep them out of trouble. They had certified teachers working with them, the same staff that worked in the public school in the morning. They also got some 'volunteers', but they were paid poorly. The money came from federal funds and the board of education. The program itself, a fairly traditional program, had all the curriculum areas, although it was a remedial program. We were allowed to use a sort of recreational area, a particularly good situation because of the greater freedom we were given, a freedom greater than that possible in other areas. At first we just worked with individual kids, sometimes playing games and talking with small groups of them, watching what the teacher did in terms of content and methodology. Finally, my four dropouts began asking themselves how to improve upon this content and how to teach it more effectively. These kids, with their great insights and perception, talked about role playing, about alternative ways of presenting material, about motivation, and about interest (they didn't use these words, but this is what they were saying). Finally, we got to the point where they stood in front of the whole class. [Here Mr. Ezer presented video tapes of the high school dropouts teaching young children; the descriptions of the film content is Mr. Ezer's.]

Film Content
[Episode I]

The first 'episode' on the video tape shows David teaching children a rhythmic exercise routine using 'soul' music for background. David captured their interest immediately and within twenty minutes had taught the children the beginning movements of the routine which he had constructed. When he stopped, the children clamored for more instruction. And were placated only when informed that he would return on the following day. In teaching his routine, David had broken the steps and exercises, into teachable segments. The last segment of the tape shows the children 'going through' the routine on their own as they are observed by David. David did a remarkable piece of teaching, judged by any criteria (e.g. methodology, content, pacing, direction giving, etc.).

[Episode II]

The second episode involves Shirley and Jakie teaching children 'Negro Poetry.' The following are some of the poems which were read to the children and discussed:

VET'S REHABILITATION

Ray Durem (1915-1963)

END

OLD MAN DAN

BAD MORNING

Langston Hughes

RESPECTFUL REQUEST

Ray Durem

FRIENDS

Ray Durem

BATTLE OF LITTLE ROCK

'Twas the first of September
  And all through the South
Not a word could be heard
  From nobody's mouth.
The kiddies were ready
  For school the next day
When all hell broke loose
  Down Arkansas way.
Old Ike had give orders
  To mix up the schools,
But old Faubus said, Hold it!
  We ain't no fools.

If you know what's good
You will stand back and listen,
'Cause we ain't gonna stand
For no nigger mixin'.
He hollered an order
Heard around the nation.
He called on the Guard
To halt integration.
The Guard came runnin'
And took up their stand
To uphold the right
Of the good old Southland.
Ike didn't like this
So he ran to the phone
And called up old Faubus
At his Arkansas home.
He said, Meet me in Newport
Tomorrow night,
'Cause the niggers and white
Folks are fixin' to fight.
Faubus agreed
And hopped in his plane
And left in a hurry
In a drizzling rain.
Faubus returned home,
But stuck to his rule,
Ain't no nigger comin'
To this here school.
So on came the troups
In numbers yet bigger
To make the white folks
Go to school with a nigger.
Old Faubus was brave
And made a gallant stand--
But he had to abide
By the law of the land.
Old Ike won the battle
For the time being.
But God help the niggers
When the troops start leaving.

(Anonymous mimeographed handbill circulated
in some southern areas during the Little Rock
school crisis, 1958.)

The children were so enthusiastic about the poems that copies of them were made and distributed. Jakie on this tape 'comes through' as a sensitive, intelligent, compassionate human being; as you watch the tape, you see in this boy the beginnings of a great teacher.

What I'm saying to you in telling about Rorry, Jakie, David, and Shirley -- their problems in existing and their triumphs in school -- is that I really don't think I could ever say anything meaningful to a bunch of kids similar to these, because my perception of the world is not theirs. That is why I suggest that these are the kids who might have something very important to say in writing elementary school curriculum and in teacher-training as well. At least two of these kids are ready for college now, and I want to get them into college. I want to get them into a teacher education program. I think they have as much to teach us as we have to teach them. I want them put into a situation where they become participants in the learning and teaching process. But the kind of program that I want these kids to enter is nothing like what we have now. You put them in History 101 or Philosophy 114, and they'll die like they died in high school. When a man writes his report on education, where does he get his data? He interviews these people, and uses his ability to put the data together. These kids have that ability too; I would like to get people interested in social problems, interested in getting together and building with these kids a way of perceiving, acting on, and correcting some of our social problems as well as problems of education in the university. I can envision a problem in urban education solved by these kids and a team of people in sociology, anthropology, education, and social psychology, whatever the discipline be. I can see them talking about the problems and offering courses of action. Give them the credit. Give them the honorarium. The only honorarium I can give them is to get them into the schools, nothing more. 'A Promised Land' is the acceptance of these kids -- what they have to offer as human beings.

The Culture of the Child / The Culture and the Child

Larry York

Mr. Ezer speaks of some possible directions which America might take to restore elementary schools and the process of education to the immediate communities and 'cultures' in which they operate, to whose coming of age they must be meaningful. Though Mr. York also speaks of the ghetto child, he is more concerned with the general chasm which exists between education and culture by virtue of education's general failure, as he sees it, to understand what the culture has provided to the child. People have for a very long time asserted that the culture does provide children with many things which they are then again force-fed by the schools that American schools do not take advantage of much that the culture provides. However, in the past, these assertions have been pretty impressionistic ones. Recently scholars have been able, somewhat more responsibly, to document where we are wasting our riches. Some of the best evidence concerning these points is to be found in the area of language as documented by Joshua Fishman's Language Loyalty in the United States and by the testimony provided to the House and the Senate in behalf of the Bi-Lingual Education Act, particularly that by Mr. Bruce Gaarder. Mr. York's argument focuses on two other areas recently subjected to research study: the areas of the syntactic development of the child and the development of his logical competencies, his capacity to perceive contingencies. He argues that these two areas are better handled by the culture than by the schools -- the one by talk, the other by games. He argues further that some areas which the schools are afraid to teach, e.g. how power is acquired and held, are taught by games and others which they are unwilling to teach, e.g. how violent and racist is our society, are taught by the media. The question which this essay raises then is like that which Ezer's raises; how can we bring ourselves to recognize the spontaneous forces at work within the culture upon which education which means anything must build? Mr. York's 'answer' is less an answer than an insistence that we do bring ourselves to recognize the forces. His 'promised land' is not in sight.

The Culture of the Child / The Culture and the Child

by Larry York
Chico State College
Chico, California

This is really two papers, one about the world of the child: how he learns or refuses to learn and adjusts or refuses to adjust to the things with which he is confronted in the schools (as they relate either to the home or to some other form of reality). The other is about the world of society: the official positions it presents to the child in school, through textbooks and official pronouncements, and the reality which underlies those positions. The child's world and the adult social world cannot be separated from one another, and our common attempts to talk about children as if they were rats in a laboratory may be one of the reasons that we do not always talk honestly about schools. Before we get down to talking about kids and the implications of some of our recent findings about how they learn, we should engage the question, raised again and again both by the critics and by the supporters of the schools: what are the schools supposed to be doing? Is it true, as many people say, that the schools have failed really to educate the majority of our children, that they are predominantly social in nature, that their primary purpose is to keep kids off the streets, adjust them to society (by force or persuasion), and then certify them as docile? I am inclined to agree with those who think that the schools have failed: with those who think that they have become institutions of conformity, and with those who assert that our teachers and administrators have become petty civil servants who teach children to deny their own perceptions, give them exquisite training in the tricks of evasion, and reject those who are not certifiable. The emphasis of the schools is on control, and rarely does anyone discuss what it would be like really to educate. Hence, the schools have failed on an epic scale in the ghetto where kids who are incapable of playing the school game the way their suburban counterparts do, where a great many kids do not wish to play the game at all, drop out.

Major government programs and foundation efforts have, in the past, been directed at rehabilitating the products of the schools by giving compensatory education to their students, but people are now beginning to suggest that we had better start looking at the school process and what it does to kids. If the schools have failed, we probably should ask what it is that they set out to do. What do we want them to do? And could our society stand it if the schools really did teach kids to be creative and independent? Schools can set kids free, can teach them to read and write and think as individuals; but I don't know that society would stand for schools which did this, which created real political individuals. Certainly, at the level of Higher Education, the response this year to the student uprisings has been unusually repressive, and, at the elementary level, 'freeing' the individual is obviously not what the schools which I have observed are up to. I don't mean to suggest that there is some plot to keep kids from learning; I do mean to suggest that we have the kinds of schools we have because our schools are the only kinds of schools we know about or because they are an accurate reflection of what society thinks that they ought to be and to do. If the former is the case -- that the schools we have are the only kinds of schools we know about -- then we can improve. But if the latter is the case -- that our schools are a precise reflection of what we think schools are for -- then our chances are slim.

Look at how schools function in our society. The national average of expenditures on school time was 53¢ per child per hour last year, less than most of us pay for babysitters. The rewards in school for time-serving, mediocrity, and anti-intellectualism are many, but there are few rewards for excellence and achievement. Our public pronouncements about schools -- our hopes, ideals and dreams for education -- are not matched by national support: by the giving of significant status to teachers, the meaningful involvement of the community in the school job, or the securing of quality administrative personnel. Various people have documented the case recently: John Holt, Herbert Kohl, and Jonathan Kozol, for example. We delude ourselves if we think that our schools have taught the things which we think we value highly: honor, justice, law and morality; for, though these are the things which we think that we ought to teach in the schools, our society does not so much value as praise them. We say that we set out _to teach_, but what kids see in school -- what they really see -- is primarily an exercise in the use of adult power and authority. Should teachers and principals really worry about the length of boys' hair and girls' skirts? Should they spend endless hours measuring, checking and policing so that the recalcitrant student may be isolated, adjusted (by counseling), punished or spit out? We tell dropouts how much more they might earn if they stayed in school, but not what they might learn. And we say that, _once discipline is established_, we can really teach, but what the kids see, as the real substance of school life, is primarily the repression and force and not its _raison d'être_. They learn about _authority_, not about literature, science, math or history. They are effectively quarantined from the humanities (though they read 'the classics'). They learn that individualism carries a high price.

Change may be impossible. Certainly we do have ideas about how to change the schools, how to get kids to learn, how to get better books and teachers; but none of these ideas will carry weight unless the relationship between school and society changes. For the problem is primarily a political one; one of the things the Coleman Report seems to show is that, until the total environment in which many students are reared and schooled changes, until the rising expectations of their parents can be fulfilled, nothing the schools do themselves will make any difference. One of the things we might, for the nonce, be able to do in restructuring the schools is to return them to reality. They really do have to stop talking about an ideal society as if it were the real one: if society is not going to change its ways, they must at least change their ways of looking at society. And this will be difficult. It is hard to tell children that this is a violent and racist society, but it will be infinitely harder on our society if we continue not to mention it. For if we continue our school talk about ideal or mythical societies, we will continue to produce students who do not -- and ought not to -- believe what we are telling them. It is impossible forever to teach fairy tales and expect them to be taken as history. Kids may repeat the platitudes -- our myths -- in order to get through school, but they see the discrepancy between what we say and what they see. They see that we ask them to swallow myths about 'the way things are' which they know to be patently untrue, for they are bombarded by the media in ways no other generation has every been before.

The models which they see are none too edifying. They are confronted by violence, murder, disaffection and war. When they ask about 'peace' and 'love,' they are told to 'be practical' -- to accept and understand such statements as: 'We had to destroy the city to save it.' Dozens of Kafka-esque examples could be elicited which reveal the quality and quantity of our violence, the disparity between our real and the ideal we claim to be, examples which even more tragically indict us as a society which 'violates the dignity of human beings.' In the face of more complex technology, more efficiency (what does the word 'efficiency' in speaking of schools mean?), uglier cities, greater disaffection between black and white, between young and old, it is becoming increasingly difficult to talk about freedom, independence and creativity.

(At an earlier Tri-University Project Conference, Jules Henry documented the case against textbooks which ignore the realities of history and teach about American Society 'the happy family' myth, the Doris Day - Rock Hudson romance, and the other Mr. Clean myths. These myths are also promulgated in reading and literature texts which teachers may think as being 'uplifting' but only if they have some naive sense that we should never confront children with ugliness and squalor, only with the 'nice' things which encourage them to look up and out of their condition.)

I don't want to make a case for more ugliness. I do want to make the case for more reality, for a beauty less sophistically won from the reality we face.

Life has changed in the past fifty years, and these changes imply changes in elementary school children. What do they now learn from TV? Subject matter? Strategy? Game Style? Mathematics? Violence? What do they do with what they learn from TV when they have learned it? Are the 'New Mutants' or 'Post-Modern Youth' learning new ways of learning or a new life style from our culture? I do not know. I do know that children are reaching puberty earlier, engaging in sex, alcohol, and drugs at earlier ages, and even making their own movies. Newspapers are full of, to us, shocking activities in which kids engage, activities which most of us had never heard about when we were in high school; we are developing an awareness that the younger generation is more radical than anything our civilization has ever seen.

'Radicalness' may have developed partly because family life has changed, changed in ways which have made the culture, as it were, a place where so much 'education' is required and where kids, as a consequence of the isolation of education, are both alien to the schools and alien to the adult power structure. The extended family, that unit rich in experience and in communication between the age levels, is rapidly vanishing. What we have is a nuclear family: mother, father, two or three children and the rest 'walls,' a family sterile and limited compared to families many of us knew. Its life in the suburb is different from the life of the small town, allowing children fewer experiences where they can test themselves, by themselves, supported by a benign community near at hand. Children are driven by car to shop and so rarely get the chance to wander around a downtown that children of the past always had: that the city and its power structure are utterly alien. Suburbia is an homogenizing influence as well as an isolating one; kids are grouped according to income automatically by zoning laws and building codes; they are grouped in similar blocs in school by age and level of ability. They deal with replicas of themselves -- more of them than they used to. What seems to be happening is a strengthening of peer-group relationships, and a weakening of parent-child relationships.

If the family is no longer the central unit, the direction of our research concerning the culture should change, for much of our research about kids is directed toward parent-child relationships; much less toward peer-group relationships. In the slums, the absence of the father increases the child's susceptibility to group influence. Friedenburg's Coming of Age in America observes that in such neighborhoods 'the crowd' runs the school, a 'crowd' which often functions autonomously, relatively free from control and uncommitted, if not outrightly opposed, to society's values and codes. It is worth noting that the Russians are much more interested in the way peer-groups work, much less tolerant of the resistant, autonomous, adolescent peer group.

If we think about kids in individual terms, and they function in groups, especially in the schools, then our study is missing the boat. For instance, we in English should start concerning ourselves first with what the child has when he comes to school: a fully developed syntax and a repertory of stories and fantasy forms? Yes. But how much more? And how well do we know or take cognizance of the two areas in which we know that the culture has 'educated'? What really interests me is the games kids play when confronted with a reality-denying authority, a reality-denying school and learning system: the games by which they acquire their language and their linguistic strategies, the games which they are asked to play by the language learning activities of the school, and what all this means for our study of learning and of education in general. We should concern ourselves with the things the child learns from other kids in school and at home -- often in spite of the school system.

Language is a social thing. Kids learn their language from their parents and their peers long before they come to school. They arrive at school with a well-developed syntax, capable of speaking and understanding the oral language. They then are confronted with the written word. They can neither spell nor read. The schools, the teachers, and the textbooks all assume that since the child is not able to handle the written code system, then he doesn't know much about the language. Since we all produce things modeled after what we are exposed to unless we have the natural genius of Picasso, since what kids have often been exposed to in the past is oversimplified basal reading material, we now have children who constrict their syntax and write in the style of 'see Tom run.' And then the lessons on sequence and syntax assume that the 'see Tom run' child is a linguistic _tabula rasa_ for whom what we have to do is establish a syntax, stretch it a little bit so it looks like adult stuff, and certify him as OK. But kids have had a firm grip on syntax since they were three (and even diehard behaviorists have been forced to admit that this is true). Our job should be to capitalize on the child's intuitive knowledge about language and help him make the transfer from the spoken to the written. We should be less interested in WHAT the kids are going to tell us than we are in their ability to understand HOW the transfer is made, whether through tapes, transparencies, open-ended dramatic oral work or whatever. There should be no notions about correctness in the making of the transfer and there should be lots of creative play. For when the child comes to school, the least that we can do for him is to make sure that his language goes on doing for him what it has done all along. This means that the first important thing to decide about a language arts program is that the talk go on from the home to the classroom.

And as we watch the talk going on, we should determine a series of priorities as to subject matter which fit the child's framework, not ours. One of the first things a child does is use language to build up his relations with the rest of the family which is his whole theater of operations. Sapir says that writing begins "with the expressive use of language," the verbal expression of the writer's own awareness, a kind of verbalizing about the self, and then moves outward to the world, either as the child is a participant (which leads, in Britton's terms, to referential writing) or as he is a spectator (which leads to poetic writing). We should treat writing and literature as something children do, as both spectators and participants -- a way of seeing, feeling, and recording. Britton said at New Orleans that "a child's poem is valid for the same reason as a poet's, but is less influential than a poet's poem." In short, it is a way of relating to the world, relating the world to the self, and recording it. (Suzanne Langer says that man is a symbol-making creature even before he is a tool-making one, and that metaphor is the cornerstone of his symbolic and even his discursive language. Finally, Hebb, a Canadian psychologist, has pointed out that "what attracts our attention is likely to be something which has a familiar element, and an unfamiliar element," which is, I suggest, a fair definition of a metaphor. When a boy of three looks up at a dramatic sunset and says, 'Look daddy, the sky is dancing,' he may not need many definitions of metaphor or exercises in writing metaphors.)

Theories of teaching writing which are based on the assumption that 'composition' is a body of knowledge to be learned by a child who is given 'sufficient incentive,' positive and negative, to get the knowledge, just don't work. Theories about adding on modifiers in order to get more sophisticated syntax are also after the fact, and don't work. Writing is not something learned by skill drills. It can be learned: it is not some sort of mystical experience. But the writing which schools teach must hitch onto the training in writing and the linguistic training which the culture gives. Herb Kohl describes it in 36 Children (and Dewey said it fifty years ago): start the child where he is (with tapes of his own stories), involve him in talk about himself, his drawings, other kids' drawings. Confront him with open questions about his games, his books and his family. Let him play with language -- fantasy, science-fiction or haiku. Encourage any use of language at all and, as he masters the code, he will write. Writing should be seen as a vehicle, not as a subject matter. Kids, especially young ones, don't do very well talking about language;

they should be working with language as a mode of discovery and with style as a reflection of the self.

Let us admit that much that the schools do with language is already learned, and better, from the culture. One could extend position to a variety of areas. Let me suggest briefly what may be going on in one of the more difficult areas recently recommended for 'teaching' in the elementary school: the area of logic and mathematics.

As we elaborate various theories about games, we are beginning to recognize the importance of games in terms of adult cognitive processes: for instance, games of chance 'model' probability theory and games of strategy 'model' mathematical game theory, and both provide a framework for exploration, problem solving, and advanced thinking. Children learn the 'subject matter' content of such games in the street. But if the logic of such games is a model of the logic according to which decisions which involve power in our society are made, as Sutton-Smith has shown, if games are models of power, then it seems rational to assume that kids will use games not only to learn probability or game theory but to learn the power tactics that their teachers and parents can't or won't teach them: how to be successful in war, business, and marriage. Some children don't learn the games, and this may be one of the sources of their anxieties in a most complex age. The 'rules' have to be learned, the school doesn't teach the rules. (We move from Sherlock Holmes, the genius of deduction -- to -- Holden Caulfield, who doesn't know or won't learn the rules.) It seems apparent that 'knowing the rules' is one form of preparation for becoming an adult. As the work of adults becomes more and more abstract, and as success in business requires more and more social manipulation and strategy, and as our society moves toward greater organization, we are in the process of developing greater anxieties and greater alienation of certain people from the rule manipulating process. It is interesting to note, concomitantly, that formal games are on the decrease, and informal games (requiring gamesmanship) on the increase. Game theory may here tell us something about the realities of the child's world by giving us ways of getting at whether what we are doing is helping or destroying the child's capacity to deal with power at the level at which society demands that he deal with it.

If kids are, in some senses, more sophisticated than ever before; if they arrive at school with ideas, words, names for things they have perceived through the media, then schools operating within the framework of a closed curriculum are missing the boat by not knowing the abilities of the child. We must recognize that we are no longer able to control, or contain,the curriculum within the walls of the school; insofar as we have done so in this century, we have created artificial and unreal curricular structures. Children cannot be blamed for their failure in our structures if our rituals destroy their confidence, faith and even perhaps their love. But more meaningful ways of teaching -- ways which recognize who children are and what they have really been taught by pain and social communication -- might restore their faith. For, if giving kids freedom to learn does not necessarily produce anarchy, involving them in years of sand-box education does produce damage. It produces permanent alienation. Some of the brightest kids of the last two generations have dropped out; we can't afford any more 'cop outs.'

The Culture: Children's Playlore and Education

Lillian Broome and Dorothy Howard

Mr. Ezer suggests that we may not be able to know what we need to know to educate the children of some environments. Mr. York suggests that we don't know what children know or how they have been taught by the culture of which they are a part. Mesdames Broome and Howard address the question of how we might find out what children believe, what they have taught one another, and how we might create systems of education which admit the learning which goes on all day -- and perhaps all night -- long in the life of a child. The examples which Broome and Howard use are literary and linguistic but they might well be drawn from the other areas. What is the 'folklore' which children in specific neighborhoods have developed as to the structure of their own society? And is it closer to or further from 'the way things are' than what the teacher says or the textbook? What do black children say about the motives of white men? And what do migrant children say about the springs of action of the powerful of the earth? Is their interpretation of human behavior 'less accurate' than that of the reading book or the health and hygiene book which sits on the shelf in the classroom?

The Culture: Children's Playlore and Education

Lillian Broome
and
Dorothy Howard

Children in contemporary society hold a more central and worrisome position than in any other period in human history. George Boas in The Cult of Childhood and daily newscasts, editorials and advertisements produce massive evidence leading to this inference. Worried adults forty years old or more (remembering their not-too-distant childhood when children were seen but not heard and were 'sent out to play' when they annoyed adults) wish to survive this traumatic age of noisy children who seem to have inherited the earth. And at last -- and belatedly -- they are becoming curious about what children do when 'sent out to play.' They have put their scholars to eavesdropping, collecting once-trivial bits of data to be fed into computers which are expected to turn out mechanical pied pipers which will look after children (and other annoying groups like old people and poor people). Among the scholarly spies who may be found in the playground underworld which is located three feet below adult-eye-level are the anthropologists, the sociologists, the cultural geographers, the historians of play and of childlore, the ethnologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, linguistic scientists, musicologists, artists, and a few folklorists. Unsupervised playgrounds where children are left to make their own decisions about what and how they play are becoming fewer as populations are rearranged from rural to urban patterns; but the streets and alleys of the slums where a large portion of America's city children live with little or no adult direction create situations in which a culture can grow and folklore flourish. Children in undirected play operate as do other human groups. The 'traditional' character of their play customs, the persistence in their play of rather old tradition, even in the midst of striking social changes, present a seemingly paradoxical phenomenon in our rapidly changing and increasingly mobile society. The changes in children's play from group to group and age to age are also important, but they are subtle.

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The collection of children's traditional playlore has been going on in the United States and in Great Britain for almost one hundred years;[1] but not until very recent times have scholars turned their attention to the serious study of the lore; what it means, how it functions, the process of transmission, adaption, diffusion. Interdisciplinary research concerning the meaning of what children do in their play and what they learn is increasing but as yet has had little or no impact upon elementary classroom teaching and the curricula which are offered to teachers in training. It may not be too much to suggest that play is the activity characteristic of childhood; that it is a culturally transmitted activity; and that, if education is to understand what it is dealing with when it deals with culture, it must deal with what children learn through play. In doing this, education ought to keep play as play and not turn it into something else. Sutton Smith has observed that though much has been written about play, little has been written about play-as-play. Rather, play has been viewed as a kind of rehearsal for work, a relief from tension, or an expression of the organism's effort to cope or to learn minimal sorts of physical competence.[2] If play is a sort of ritualized education, it is education of a very complex sort. If we are to examine play as 'education' or as the foundation for education, we might, for instance, ask that the teacher of Elementary English notice what her children are doing. The language of her children's play is metaphoric; words, actions and things are all metaphors. Even a casual and superficial examination of game names, terms, and rules would produce convincing evidence of interesting metaphor. No superficial examination, however, can reveal what the metaphor means in the names of such games as 'King of the Mountain,' 'Bar the Door,' 'Australian Dingo,' 'Here Comes an Old Woman from Botany Bay,' 'Calabozo,' 'La Paloma Blance,' 'Vibora de La Mar,' 'Las Milpas,' or in the rules for games like 'Lockout' (when a group limits the number who can play) or 'King's X' (for time out in a game); the metaphor in terms like 'twirling' (for turning the rope in rope-skipping) and 'pee-wee' (marble name) or 'honkers' (to name a body position for marble playing) is not altogether obvious to the adult -- be he teacher or layman.

The language of games, like the oral-formulaic language of ancient poetry is a formulaic language -- stylized and governed by artificial rules specific to the game context:

> . . . the language which is used is different from the everyday language of the contestants, such linguistic (or paralinguistic) elements as changes in pitch, stress, and sometimes syntax provide the signals of contest. Just as counting-out introduces us to the world of the children's games, with its resultant suspension of reality so the phrase 'Have you heard this one about . . . ?' leads us into the permissive world of the

> joke . . . Within specific forms, the rules seem to say 'You can insult my family, but don't exceed the rules because we are dealing with something perilously close to real life.' The most prominent linguistic features are (1) the reliance upon formulae patterns, (2) the use of rhyme within these patterns, and (3) the change of speech rhythms from natural ones that conform to the demands of the formula. These are the strictest boundaries imposed by the game.[3]

Children do not need to be taught about oral-formulaic language in epic poetry; they are its masters and gamesmen.

Moreover, the language of play, like the language of drama or like R. P. Blackmur's version of the language of poetry, is a language in which gesture and word 'play' together form a total communicative action. Communication between child-teacher and child-learner on the playground is, in the most literal sense, non-verbal: that is, communication by gesture or action-with-things, in a context which, somehow, carries the meaning. Somehow. Because communication is a multichannel process,[4] the search for meaning becomes complicated. When four players throw two ropes, the ropes are thrown at right angles to each other (this is called 'Butterfly' by children at Clinton School, Lincoln, Nebraska; and 'Spider Web' at Claire McPhee School, Lincoln). In 'Butterfly', both ropes are thrown clockwise or both counter-clockwise; both are thrown simultaneously and reach the zenith and the nadir simultaneously. Dorothy, age 10, explained, "It's called 'Butterfly' because the ropes fly like wings". As she said "fly", she raised her arms and moved them up and down to imitate the ropes and the butterfly's segmented wings. The adult observer then saw and understood -- for the first time -- the resemblance of the rope movement and flying butterfly wings. 'Butterfly' (or 'Spider Web') requires great skill and coordination in both throwing (or 'twirling') and in jumping. The jumper has little space to maneuver the body so that it will not be struck by a moving rope. The 'Twirlers' must coordinate their movements with precision so that the ropes will not tangle. On Clinton School playground, girls from ten to twelve years old were doing 'Butterfly.' One boy (12) twirled the rope but did not attempt jumping. The game is here a complex metaphor and a gestural form of self-expression.

Games such as 'Fox and Geese' enact a fable as a game action; games such as Hopscotch may be demythologized journeys to a 'Paradiso' (the end of the sequence); games where the child has to flaunt a middle 'It' figure -- an ogre, monster, witch or giant -- may mean to the child the same thing that the picaresque fairytales mean, fairytales in which a miniscule figure ventures from his home to encounter, in episodic of sequence, a series of ogres, monsters, and unicorns (Seven at One Blow, Red Riding Hood, The Three Languages), only to recover the protected home at the end.

Again, the detailed attitudes developed by a single literary genre may already be taught by play. Elementary school teachers may take the attitude that children know nothing of satire, that it is completely beyond their infantile grasp. But children's playtime satire can be as heavy-handed or as illusive as Jonathan Swift's or as earthy as Gulliver's fire-extinguishing in the land of the Lilliput. Children, through traditional and inventive satire, protest and survive a hypocritical adult society full of prohibitions against inelegance and impropriety, full of puritanical fear of impiety and immorality, and almost unbearably pompous:

> Ladies and jelly spoons
> I come before you to stand behind you
> To tell you something I know nothing about
> The next Wednesday (being Good Friday)
> There will be a mother's meeting
> For fathers only.
> If you can come please stay at home.
> Wear your best clothes
> If you haven't any.
> Admission free (pay at the door)
> Take a seat but sit on the floor.
> It makes no difference where you sit
> The man in the gallery's sure to spit.
>
> The next number will now be
> The fourth corner of the round table
> We thank you for your unkind attention.

Children's play is a representation of the society in which the child lives. Children use a ritual called 'Going through School' as they jump rope. The rope is the school, the jumps are the grades or levels which -- if successfully executed -- terminate in 'Graduation' or completion of the ritual. The raisings of the hurdle in the game (and in school?) are completely mechanical acts. The use of the rope as a metaphor for the school here is as sophisticated as the metaphor upon which the Lilliputian rope game in Gulliver's Travels is based. Yet the children who played the rope game would be hard-pressed to verbalize about their use of symbolism.

Professor York in his paper and the representatives of the Nebraska practicum in their paper mention the possibility that games are instruments through which children learn theory of probability, logical theory, and how power operates in a society. The behavior of specific children in games presage their adult mode of operation as they can be observed consistently resorting to strategy or power rather than simply relying on 'good luck' to win the game. There appears to be sufficient evidence to state that games and free play both reflect, transmit, and to a certain degree, create a culture.

Perhaps eventually we will learn what and how children's play rhymes mean -- rhymes such as:

> Cinderella dressed in yella,
> Went upstairs to kiss her fella,
> Made a mistake, and kissed a snake,
> How many doctors did it take?

Is the 'Cinderella' in the rhyme the child who is chanting it? Does she hope to go 'upstairs to kiss her fella?' What is the snake? and what were the Freudian and literary implications of it? What harm has the 'snake' done her? What is the doctor's job? What and how do these rhymes mean in the child's world?

Indeed there is much to be learned just by watching children and their games with 'a new pair of glasses.' The Nebraska Tri-University 'Childlore' booklet suggests how teachers might learn in the teacher training program what neighborhoods and neighborhood cultures are, how the play and lore of the street which the children know can be gathered and what it means for education (cf. Appendix I for the summary of the Childlore booklet's training program proposals).

Footnotes:

1. A. B. Gomme, Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland, 2 vols. (first published by David Nutt, London, 1894-1898), Dover Edition, (introduction by Dorothy Howard) 1964.

2. Brian Sutton-Smith, "The Role of Play in Cognitive Development," Young Children, Vol. XXII, No. 6. (1967), pp. 361-362.

3. Roger Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 75, No. 297 (1962), p. 209.

4. Ray Birdwhistell, "Communication: a Multi-Channel System," International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, December, 1964.

APPENDIX I

The 'modules' proposed for training teachers in the examination of the culture of the child, his playlore and his neighborhood are as follows:

I. Play
   1. The history of children at play.
   2. Development of scientific collections and the study of children's playlore.
   3. Records and archives of children's playlore.
   4. The classification of games and play customs.
   5. The logic of children's play customs.
   6. The function of play in cognitive development.
   7. The play role of the individual child.
   8. The playground communication system.
   9. Playground teachers and learners.
   10. Games and the social character.

II. Home and Neighborhood
   1. Lore of the Home:
      a. Naming customs
      b. Family relationships
      c. Food
      d. Family economy
      e. Religious customs
      f. Family language and beliefs.

III. Lore of the Community

IV. Material culture of the neighborhood and community.

II

HIGHER EDUCATION:

THE DISCIPLINES

AND

EDUCATION

The National Interest and Professional Power

Donald Bigelow

In a recent book (The Academic Revolution) David Reisman and Christopher Jencks have urged that the primary trust of American colleges and universities has changed during the last decade, because professors have acquired a great deal more power in America as a consequence of a new demand for Higher Education and because salaries within the teaching community are tied to research rather than teaching.

Mr. Bigelow's argument is like that set forth by Riesman and Jencks; however, it places the blame on a center of power other than that which they blame. Bigelow attributes the drift in American academic values to the professional societies and the lobbies for those professional societies which have built up America's large research foundations: NIMH, NSF, The Bureau of Research, the Social Science Research Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Bigelow's quarrel is not with research but with the promise that research will better life and improve policy-making (while scholars themselves refuse to act upon what they know or behave as if knowledge which implies action is somehow spurious and irrelevant to their design). His quarrel is with the failure of the professions to understand that genuine teaching is always an act of scholarship -- their failure to insist that a scholar worth his salt can seek to know in such a way as also seeks the transformations of life and culture which knowledge implies. His quarrel is finally with the dumbness of research for the sake of promotion.

Bigelow sees this radical displacement of values, this distortion of the shape of Higher Education, as produced by the muscle of professional societies which influence the government on the one hand and graduate deans on the other. Reports like the Carter report give graduate deans the muscle to influence chancellors and state legislatures. No comparable forces for the protection of teaching exist -- save, perhaps, the student strike.

Mr. Bigelow's division in the Office of Education is charged with improving the training of elementary and secondary school teachers. Teachers in the lower schools are 'trained' at a profound, intuitive level by the college teachers they see. If they go out to be bad teachers at the time of their graduation, they may have learned the art of bad teaching from masters.

"The National Interest and Professional Powers"

Donald Bigelow
U. S. Office of Education

I have chosen to discuss "The National Interest and Professional Power," a topic obviously relevant to the interests of trainers of teachers, the Tri-University Project, the NDEA Institute Program, the Masters of Arts in Teaching Program, and most importantly, colleges and universities everywhere. In the Jeffersonian vein, I assume the existence of "grass roots" in the field of American education. And I assume that to discover the source of inspiration for American education, we must rely on the people who constitute the "grass roots." The Federal Government in Washington, the Ford Foundation, Commissioners of Education, and College Presidents do not comprise these "grass roots." Nor does the "Eastern Establishment" from Harvard southward along the coast. Rather, the grass roots may be seen here in this Tri-University Project conference -- in the thirty-six representatives, of universities and colleges from all parts of the nation, who have participated in the Tri-University Project and in their university department chairmen and administrators -- the people sitting before me now. There exists no group more qualified to consider the kind of political, social, and educational changes which are affecting our university and school systems today. Consider the number of institutions represented in the Tri-University Project, consider the academic disciplines represented here, consider the intellectual and administrative power represented by the attending members; then you may be considering forces which are close to the sources of power and of inspiration in American education. The real service which the Federal Government provides to you through the Tri-University Project (besides the supporting funds) is the opportunity for a national dialogue, an opportunity to talk among yourselves about problems formerly reserved only the establishment, only for "those others." It is you who must guide American education.

For Americans, westward expansion has always represented growth and change, the perpetual renewal of a society. The Mormons, for instance, moved from Vermont to Utah where I understand they have world ambitions. But the University has not quite managed to go from Vermont to Salt Lake; it seems to have no world-conquering ambitions. John Erskine once wrote in his Autobiography that he hoped his grandson might go to the popular university, the University of Midway. Really and metaphorically, no one's grandson goes to the University of Midway; and there is no evidence that the university is moving westward or has a Populist wing. Symbolically, it has become a high church with eastern qualities and is governed by high priests who emerge from some druidic past. And because the University has lost the market place and has become a cultist shrine, it seems to me that we are at a crucial point of what we mean by the University -- where it is going. It still may have much strength and vitality, but we must look at its role to find out what it is doing and what it is going to do about itself. Two factors particularly have already caused the university to look carefully at itself -- the developing recognition of minority groups and the developing insurrections on campuses. The marches on Washington, the burning of the Sorbonne, or the rioting at Columbia, even the free speech movement at Berkeley -- all make us realize that it may be time to look at the university. We may attribute complex causes to the civil and student riots and fight about this or that red herring in trying to affix guilt for social disorder. But, meanwhile, our society will not be changed, the university will not be changed, the fact of course credits will not be changed; the druids will stay in their shrine. Mike Bowers tells a wonderful story which illustrates the inflexibility often evidenced by the university. He once suggested in a faculty meeting that one way to get at the whole problem of the relationships between students and faculty -- meaning the University -- would be to develop a system whereby the freshmen would not be "freshmen," but would, after they had graduated from high school, be encouraged to take the first year off, to do anything they wanted. A long silence ensued; people cogitated. Then the silence was broken by one man who said: "Well, can we give credit for it?"

We have to admit that we are caught up in the problems of a hierarchy which both protects and saves us, a hierarchy which may well be necessary to make us useful. But that hierarchy must not stand in the way of real educational progress. Let me illustrate this notion by an example taken from the changes which are occurring in the educational system of North Dakota. North Dakota has undertaken one of the most ambitious educational projects in the country; the project involves the telescoping of some four-hundred districts down to eighty; and this redistricting is intended to allow more effective administration and to facilitate a closer relationship among the teachers. It aims at the establishment of sectors for teacher re-training, guaranteeing the spread of knowledge concerning the latest teaching techniques. And the University of North Dakota itself will add a Department of Behavioral Science to acquaint elementary teachers with the current discoveries in that field. This project is extraordinary: it is imaginative and creative. Leadership of the first order has gone into it both at the state, and the federal, levels. But we have a problem with the hierarchy. The state legislature must be persuaded every two years to keep the eighty districts, and not to add more. Within the University itself, the Department of Education was bypassed by the new department and that created opportunities for serious dissent. And one wonders, "Can these plans succeed in challenging the entire university, the entire educational system; or will they simply end up in political and educational antagonisms?" Will the new Department of Behavioral Sciences just end up as another School of Education? Are we constructing a labyrinth so that when the labyrinth has been gone through, we will come out with less, certain with no more, than we have today?

At any rate, the first important matter I wish to emphasize is "change" -- the problems and possibilities of change. And I would suggest that part of the problem of change is to be aware of what has already occurred and to learn how to use it, rather than to look for changes around the next bend, over the next mountain, or during the next year. We all know that there is no panacea for socio-educational problems, but we must try to describe the problems and work towards solutions through such efforts as this most ambitious Tri-University Project. We know that this project may or may not succeed at an individual level; we know that it may or may not succeed on the campus. But there is no other project on the national level where universities are trying to find what can be done about education -- not whether elementary education can be made respectable -- but what education is at the heart. We bypass the question of respectability as completely as we did islands in the Pacific during the Second World War. We have begun to ask the right questions; we may have acquired some helpful understanding. Consequently, we may be able to find hope for elementary education.

Can the Tri-University really cope with the changes in our society? It is certainly true that people have been meeting about elementary education since the cows came home. But they have been talking to each other the way cows do, without getting home. Talking about elementary education without talking both in the framework of the university and in the framework of the rest of society is meaningless. The Tri-University Project talks at both levels. This project attempts to utilize teachers of teachers (the university framework), elementary teachers (the public schools), and members of the community not directly involved in the educational process ("society"). And the first two publications of the Tri-University Project define many of the problems in elementary education and their possible solutions. These publications, The Craft of Teaching and the Schooling of Teachers and Reason and Change in Elementary Education, discuss elementary in terms of ages three to eight; they include pre-school and kindergarten; they talk about follow-through and follow-after; and they speak of grades one, two, and three in popular terms and individualistic terms; in terms of "kids," not "grades." The people who define these terms are university specialists in education who are interested in kids. The reports of the project hit pretty hard. They stress the fact that we are no longer faculty members but people interested in training people to train teachers to train kids; and they talk about society without lugging it in by the boots. They say such things as: "The abuse of power in the schools has to do with the importation into them, at their earliest levels, of a silly competitive system inimical in the long run to study; a linguistic decorum indicative only of the power of a class, race, an age group or a professional group to demand from another group's children (as the price of success) language behaviors stylized as it wants them." (p. xi., the Craft) They speak of the limitations of white suburbia and the university people who belong to that suburbia: "a great invisible college of educated men encircling the globe, men looking for objectifiable evidence in trying to learn to 'tell it like it is' . . . "(p. xi, Reason) (That's all of us -- us researchers. Of course, very few of us do any research and the rest of us end up teaching teachers for which we weren't trained. It is an interesting reflection on the American academic enterprise that no college or university trains teachers to teach teachers. It only trains people to do research which they can't do, who then end up teaching teachers.) The report says of this invisible college, that its members are "men dedicated to the use for social betterment of whatever conceptual schema allow one to see coherence and regularity in the natural and social order. . . ." It says this is "an attractive" ideal (p. xi, Reason). But it does not offer the idea as an easy panacea, and that is where the burn comes, for you and for me -- we who are members of the invisible college. " We fear that we . . . do not have much hope for the invisible college as it presently is, and its members do not readily change. We who are its members are as myth-bound, using myth in a pejorative sense, as any savages. We are the men who have fled from the cities to escape the poor, the undereducated, the drugged and the drunk, but most of all, the black . . ." (pp. xi-xii, Reason). If the universities can say this, they can change.

Now for my second important point and it is related -- we must create a university equal to social changes. The University has great resources; the Tri-University Project is an example of those resources brought to bear on the socio-educational needs. If, however, such projects as the Tri-University fail, if we fail to use the university potential now, I fear that in twenty years we will be unable to save the university or to use its resources in solving the problems of this country. I do not think we will have many more opportunities, in spite of people who tell us the university has lasted since the Middle Ages. When I speak of no further opportunities, I do not think of the black caucus: I think of the student caucus. I think of your students and mine -- students who with increasing frequency "drop out" or go insane in a great part from the failure of the university system. (The fact is, my batting average is .034. Yours may be better). I strongly believe the university is the gyroscope of our civilization. If we fail to listen to the pleas of the students, the university first and civilization next may be hard-hit. And if we listen to the pleas of the students, the gyroscope may save civilization.

Those in the Office of Education and those participants involved in Title XI NDEA Institutes have already discovered not "at our peril" but "to our promise," that we are fighting the essential war of the profession -- we are fighting the basic war of American education, the problem of the conception of knowledge as packaged according to "disciplines." If I personally had to cut out all the university groups right now and retain that most likely to meet the demands of the future, I would let only the Colleges of Education survive. I say this to make the point clear that teacher training is more important than the disciplines -- that equipping teachers to teach the kids is the most important matter we do. I say this also because the character of the teacher training enterprise has in recent years made a few people feel -- really feel -- what knowledge can do for society.

Let me see if I can make my point clear on the basis of former governmental programs. In 1964, the congress in its wisdom -- there is no irony there and I still think it's magic -- passed the extension of the National Defense Education Act which provided for the support of institutes in 13 or 14 disciplines such as history, geography, and English. These were institutes designed only to acquaint the teacher with the subject matter of a discipline -- not with teaching techniques. But the college people who taught in these institutes considered it unnecessary that one know anything about elementary or secondary schools or kids. But as the institute program progressed, questions were raised which eventually taught us a painful lesson: no one knew how to use the stuff peddled in the Title XI institutes in their schools. We ought to have seen the problems sooner; we don't know how to live with it yet. We now talk about "transfer" and "translation" -- methods of getting the content across to the kids. And we try to talk about how to teach teachers what is relevant to kids. (Except in certain good schools of education in the 20th century since Dewey, no one, least of all not in the disciplines, has given this any major concern.)

Following the NDEA Institute Program, the Federal Government funded Title I and Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The people involved in Titles I and III started the basic dialogue between universities and schools. And it was here that we in Title XI learned we were not loved by everybody. We learned the schools "out there" didn't think much of our institutes "in here." We had lots of arguments. And what came out of these arguments were two things: (1) The schools were saying that the universities are turning out teachers unprepared for the task at hand, unable to do what's needed, teachers who need a great deal of re-training in pre-service and in-service; (2) the schools were also saying: "To hell with the university; they never cared; we'll do it our own way." Of course, if schools were to do it their own way, that might be disastrous too. So the American business of educating teachers is at a crossroads. As we stood at the crossroads, we began to mutter and surmise and ask ourselves "Really, after all, what was relevant in what we were doing in the institutes in terms of history, geography, and English?"

It should be apparent, then, that to treat the problem of the disciplines and the teaching methods -- their relevancy to kids -- is to raise a crucial issue for the university. What is the function of the university? If you cannot really talk about boats in the Mediterranean in the 13th century, then where the hell is that gyroscope which saved civilization? You must talk about everything if it's going to be a studium generale, a university. You cannot disallow anything (of course, all that we do in the university does not have to be relevant). And, carrying on such a discussion, we come back to the problem again.

But I sometimes wonder "Is it necessary to be all that irrelevant in the university?" I don't suppose that American history does begin with those people of Plymouth Rock actually. If we learn about cotton, do we really have to know about the cotton gin as much as what's happening to cotton in the economy of Russia today? Does somebody have to write another text book in American History? God forbid! Why don't we, in practicums, relate the study of a discipline to teacher training. Why don't we see what history has to do with the kids, what they need, and what they don't know. What we know is not necessarily what kids don't know: that is one thing that we are beginning to learn. But let me not lose the main point by a discussion of teacher training. Teacher training is only one of the aspects of the entire university structure which must be changed. It is the entire university which "ordains" the druid, and makes his shrine, and calls out the high priests of the future. The students at Berkeley and Columbia are attacking the administrations who do not care about social issues; but they should attack faculty and professional power -- the power of insular institutionalized research establishments. The students should question what the disciplines are doing -- what the graduate teachers in the Colleges of Education as well as the College of Arts and Science are doing. Administrators are trivial villains. The students should picket the American Historical Association, the National Council of Teachers of English, the Association of American Geographers, the Modern Language Association, and the Social Science Research Council. That is where the power is. Have you ever examined the American Council of Learned Societies, its power structure -- examined it at a moment when you weren't aspiring to be part of its executive group? Have you ever taken a serious look at the Social Science Research Council? Have you ever thought that the two greatest organizations -- excluding the Office of Education in Washington -- with the word 'Education' in their title do nothing about education? Have you ever looked at the professional political networks which we have set up so that, even if a faculty were awake, it could not act? I am not attacking to destroy. I am attacking the city of the disciplines to save it, but, if we are to save it, we must ask, ask in detail -- scholar by scholar and project by project -- what the disciplines are doing for the common profit of society. We should particularly question the researcher. No one does more damage than he does. The researchers on the staffs of those of you who are deans may be the light of your future, the gleam in your eye; they are also the dead hand of the past so far as the national interest is concerned. You have only to look at those thousands of people in Colleges of Education doing research on 18th century premises, searching for a 16th century "fountain of youth" by looking for the "perfect teacher" so that, having found him, we can produce him like cookies in a mold. We cannot continue to waste intelligence in this kind of research, research which substitutes refinement for intelligent judgement; all too many of our researchers live in Byzantium in relation to the "mere complexity" -- the begetting, bearing, and dying -- of our actual lives. And somehow, somewhere research and professional power have come to be inextricably tied up as the nub of the university, of the Colleges of Education, and of the disciplines. If the disciplines, if the universities are to be effective, we must attack them in order to save them. That is the challenge.

When Alfred North Whitehead was asked to speak at the opening of the Business School at Harvard, he said: "You know, I've watched the university since the middle ages. I have studied it. I believe in it. And I know it can do strange things. But look at what they are doing now." The Business School at Harvard may have shocked Alfred North Whitehead, but the changes which Whitehead saw at Harvard are minute in comparison to the changes necessary to the University now -- the shocks which we must undergo tomorrow if the university of today is to be replicated as a meaningful social force or to survive as a civilizing force. For the paradox is that we proclaim and seek diversity in the schools among students and in the colleges among our staff members but create, by our actions and 'standards,' a monolithic kind of structure which answers to no one; this demon-paradox will require wrestling with for a good many nights, I suspect, as we try to make our institutions mean something. I suspect that we have here, in this group, the power to make "Higher Education's" machine go in a new direction. Or to use my previous metaphor, we have here the power to make the demon of professional power, with its rigidities, give up. And so I would end by saying this, "Deans of tonight, unite."

Literature: The Disciplines and Education:

Essays by Patrick Groff and William Anderson

The next two essays illustrate what may grow out of extensive dialogue between people in the disciplines and in Education. Mr. Groff and Mr. Anderson, who are the authors of the next two essays, participated in the literature discussions of the Nebraska project -- at first as antagonists worlds apart but, in the end, as mutually complementary scholars. They did not always agree at the end of a year, but they had developed a common idiom. Mr. Anderson's essay is an effort to show, first, how literature is a means by which we (children included) interpret life, render it intelligible, and give it the quality of a 'land promised' to us; second, it is an effort to show how the teacher who is to do a relevant job of getting, to a specific kid, literature which 'interprets' his life must know a good deal of literature, how it means and how it may mean to kids. Mr. Anderson's proposals for training teachers of children's literature are neither so *belle-lettristic* as are the proposals conventionally made by Education people in 'kiddy lit' nor are they so unrelated to the act of teaching as are the conventional survey courses in literature offered to elementary teachers by Departments of English. Mr. Anderson begins with a general picture of how children think; Mr. Groff, on the other hand, begins with a picture of how children come spontaneously to relish literature. His argument is an argument which states in meaningful terms how a child asks himself the questions which make literature meaningful and how he may be encouraged to ask more of these questions. What is significant about Mr. Groff's essay is that his argument for a non-structured curriculum in literature (that is, a curriculum centered in "the child and his growth') does not ask that the child or the teacher know less about how and what literature means than would the curriculum 'structured' and dedicated to representing 'the basic principles of the discipline.' It may ask that they know more. What Mr. Groff is asking is that the literature which a child studies be as close to (or as far from) what he does as are his dreams and that it be more meaningful than they are. Neither Mr. Groff nor Mr. Anderson could have written his essay without the other's critique. One would like to see some of the same process of dialogue, which led to the two essays which follow, lead to the creation of training programs in the nation's colleges.

Literature, Children, and Literary Training for the Elementary Teacher

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Literature is a central force in the universal process of art by which each culture, and each individual, creates and recreates the world. Every society, and every man, represents experience in a complex of symbols and images to give shape to chaos and surface to the abyss of the unknown. Without this means of ordering experience by representation in symbols, no continuity between generations could be possible, not could any particularly complicated communication take place between individuals. The researches of Frazer, Jung, and Levi-Strauss, to name only three, clearly imply that myth-making, or the creation of literature, is an essential characteristic of the human in a culture. And the functions of literature and myth are parallel to the point of identity.

The mythic representation of the unknown commonly works through a perception of correspondences or analogies. The unknown is described in the eidolon of a known, and life is thus given the security of working as a unity. The shape of things unexperienced is like that of things already assimilated into the consciousness. Thus death is like sleep, heaven is like a happy hunting ground, or is described as a place with golden streets, and thunder is like a man beating his wife. Perhaps a modern thinks of himself as being above the seeming quaintness of the primitive myth. But our representation of the psyche, in the Freudian myth, as a three-part balance of warring forces (Id-Ego-Superego) is quite in the spirit of the Greek mythological representation of opposite spiritual or mental states as Dionysus and Apollo.

As Claude Levi-Strauss describes the process of myth-making among primitive cultures in The Savage Mind (p. 267-68), we gain a clear sense of how the nature of myth builds a picture of the world or universe:

> Physical science had to discover that a semantic universe possesses all the characteristics of an object in its own right for it to be recognized that the manner in which primitive peoples conceptualize their world is not merely coherent but the very one demanded in the case of an object whose elementary structure presents the picture of a discontinuous complexity.

Here, of course, the "discontinuous complexity" is the threat offered by experience which as yet has not been fitted into the picture of the world otherwise held by either the individual or by the culture. The "semantic universe," or the body of symbols used to represent the universe, will give a meaning, finally, to the unknown, to the new, and thus create the "coherent" sense of reality needed for the organizing of experience into meaningful terms. Disorder is threatening and is counteracted by a juxtaposition of the mythic order on any object which seems at first not a part of the system, but rather an undesirable discontinuity or fragmentation of the semantic universe.

The literary artist is an essential figure in any culture in that he, among other artists, builds the world anew with each new awareness or perception of meaning. Old images are reshaped to fit new realities and the mythic function is continually served in literature. This is Shelley's argument in A Defence of Poetry:

> But poets, those who imagine and express this indestructible order, are not only the authors of language and music, of the dance, and architecture, and statuary, and painting; they are the institutors of laws, and the founders of civil society, and the inventors of the arts of life, and the teachers, who draw into a certain propinquity with the beautiful and the true, that partial apprehension of the agencies of the invisible world which is called religion. Hence all original religions are allegorical, or susceptible of allegory, and, like Janus, have a double face of false and true. Poets, according to the circumstances of the age and nation in which they appeared, were called in the earlier epochs of the world, legislators or prophets; a poet essentially comprises and unites both these characters.

The thrust of Shelley's argument is completely compatible with that of Levi-Strauss: The parallel of art, religion, and myth in the representation of the world is total and complete. And, this representation is made through analogies, correspondences, metaphors, totems, and taboos, which carry their truth on a level beneath their immediate surface. The surface, or the story, of a myth, or a poem, or a novel, may or may not be true to the physical world--like Athena springing from the forehead of Zeus or the Sleeping Beauty waiting one hundred years for the arrival of the Prince, or the physical resurrection of Jesus. Either this seeming "false" face or a literal statement is only one part of the analogy. The meaning of art is always that it is a symbolic representation of the "invisible world," with dual values of surface and meaning. The value of analogical statement is always at the heart of literature as well as of myth. The statement of flat surface with no deeper meaning is not "literary," but is a different kind of utterance.

If for argument's sake we can grant this general characteristic of literature, how can this relate to the child? Perhaps this can be best understood by considering Jean Piaget's notion of the development of the intellect in the child:

> . . . assimilation is by its very nature conservative, in the sense that its primary function is to make the unfamiliar familiar, to reduce the new to the old. A new assimilatory structure must always be some variate of the last one acquired, and it is this which insures both the gradualness and continuity of intellectual development.[1]

The growth of intellect in the child is directly analogous to the growth of a body of myth. The "semantic universe" of which Levi-Strauss speaks is the ordering of the "unfamiliar to the familiar" which Flavell discovers in Piaget. This is also the building of the "indestructible order" we find in Shelley. Thus the child's building of his representations of the world is parallel to the building of myth and the creation of art. Seemingly this perception of similarity of aim will suggest a similar importance of the role of literature in the growing intellectual life of the child.

Because it is thus by becoming aware of the nature of correspondences, or by representing the unknown in the symbols of the known, that the intelligence can enlarge itself to accommodate new experience, literature by its very analogical basis provides modules of experience, and touchstones of conceptualization.

For the child, the use of symbols, both in his own reasoning and in his ability to recognize them in the thinking of others, does not seem to develop to a controlling degree until the latter part of the preoperational period (6-7 years of age).[2] But for the school situation, it is possible that the child in the first and second grade can be taught to perform some symbolic manipulations necessary to the apprehension of literature such as the understanding of the metaphor in a fable. The cognitive development always demands a moving from old structures to new; the new must be accommodated into the old for learning to occur. Thus the first experiences with literature can provide the cognitive framework for all later experiences, not only with literature, but with other symbolic functions of language.

The individual, either a child or an adult, can see in the representation of experience which art presents a mirror of his own life, or a means of conceptualization of his own perceptions of the world as he organizes a picture of reality for himself. The nature of literary symbolism is clearly similar to the nature of cognitive processes and structures: the familiar colors and changes the unfamiliar into the known. And, likewise, newly accommodated material changes the structure of the cognitive schemas, thus creating a growth or change in the development of the intellect. Every artist changes the shape of the "semantic universe" in the same manner by the constant recasting of old experiences into new perceptions of correspondence. Further, the way the child develops beyond egocentricism is much like the growth of the artist: more and more experience is understood in terms other than simply those seen just before one by gaining imaginative constructs of larger segments of experience.

Because literature thus seems a basic function of the human in culture, and because the nature of literature can be seen as a parallel conceptualization to the child's growth of intelligence, clearly the child and literature must be brought together as frequently and as meaningfully as possible. Needless to say, from man's earliest experiences with literature in the oral tradition, children have been exposed along with adults to the richness of literary expression.[3] From the time of the Greeks until now, whether in the retelling of the epic tales, or in the oral tradition of radio and television, children have continually been witness to the great scenes of literature. Even before learning to read, children have quite sophisticated literary backgrounds.

But the question arises, Is the haphazard bombardment of TV and the other media the best and most effective presentation of what is after all one of the most powerful forces of culture? Clearly it is not. The questions of literary perception and judgment--called otherwise understanding--have as definite a place in the life of the child as in that of the adult. And literary taste develops from an awareness of the nature of literature perceived in its vital and best form in what for want of a better name we call the classics or masterpieces.

In a sense, the child needs to become something of a literary critic, not only so he will be liberated in his ability to separate the false from the fair, but also so he can exercise the option of knowledgeable choice in the other forms of symbolic representation which we call art. The first step in this direction depends on the ability to grasp the essence of symbolization. And, again, Piaget implies that the child in school is probably capable of some of the kinds of intellectual manipulations required for literary understanding.

Because the continuum of intellectual development is such that an apprehension of parts of a whole can dramatically trigger or hasten a more complete conceptualization, early discoveries of myth and symbol can be of immense influence in the growth of the student-critic. Consider the corollary example in the study of science. The first time a child encounters the concept of evaporation, he will probably grasp only that the water turned to vapor; next he may understand that the molecular speed of the surface was greater than the atmospheric pressure; next may come a conceptualization of what happens when the water boils. But the process of reaching the final conclusion always depends upon the first notion of evaporation, although perhaps not in that order. The point is that the first will lead to the last: the most advanced physicist relies on the same concept of evaporation that the child in the elementary classroom has reached.

Making the association with the study of literature, we can begin the process of interpretation with perhaps a study of the fable. And knowing that more is meant than the mere description of animals and their vagaries is just as valid a kind of literary insight as that Desdemona represents a certain kind of innocence and that Iago symbolizes an opposing evil. The child who understands that the tortoise is perserverance, and the hare frivolity which dissipates potential, has made the initial step into understanding the interpretation of literature.

The transfer from symbol to meaning, the awareness of the two poles of an analogy, the surface and the interpretation, is the primary work of the literary critic, and perhaps even of being a writer. Perhaps this quotation from Phillippe Aries Centuries of Childhood supports this:

> People began to consolidate a tradition which had hitherto been oral: certain tales 'which had been told to me when I was a child . . . have been put on paper by ingenious pens within the last few years' . . . Thus the story became a literary genre approximating the philosophical tale, or else affect an old-fashioned style, like Mlle. Lheritier's work: 'You must admit that the best stories we have are those which imitate most closely the style and simplicity of our nannies.'
> (p. 96)

Here then is a statement of the importance and significance on the later life of a writer of stories heard in childhood, of the early experiences with literature. The character of the importance which literature has in the elementary curriculum may be clear.

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If one is to train a teacher of literature, certain needs must be met. First, and most important, a teacher of literature must know how to discover the meaning of literature. This means that the teacher needs an effective critical method for interpreting, or uncovering the deeper meanings, in literature. Every teacher needs to be able to choose for himself works of literature which are relevant to the classroom situations in which he finds himself. To be limited to only those works of literature placed in his hands by traditional curriculum guides is to be denied creativity in the experience of the study of literature. The teachers of literature must be able to "create their own curricula."[4]

It should also be evident that the teacher who has not yet discovered the structures of literature for himself will not be particularly helpful to the students in their discoveries. The schooling of a teacher of literature, by inculcating an awareness of the forces of literature in a vital way, will prepare for the later ability of that teacher to create an atmosphere for children likewise to perceive the significance of a moment which contains "a grace beyond the reach of art."

How do we develop a critical sense in a prospective teacher? This question quite obviously defies a sure answer. But the way in which one might hope to reach that objective is to expose the future teacher to great works of all genres, and in addition to give him much practice and help in the actual business of interpreting, or explicating, literature. A further step which might be fruitful is the continued exploration of how the same rules or perceptions work in literature often thought only for the young as in adult literature. That is to say, analysis of plot character, imagery, and diction are as appropriate and necessary for Charlotte's Web as for Hamlet; moral necessities enter into the understanding of The Wind in the Willows just as much as in discussion Measure for Measure. The literary artist, whether writing with children in mind, or for an adult audience, or perhaps even for an adult-child audience, still works within the confines of literary structures and forms. He may use old images in new ways, or invent new forms, but he will, as an artist, be basically finding an image for his experience, he will be attempting to give his feelings a "local habitation."

The study of children's books can be especially relevant when explored in connection with adult literature. Children's books are, of course, but a part of children's literature. But the shock of awareness that Bartholomew Cubbins' hats are symbolic of a charisma like that of Perceval in the medieval romance is equally as valid as the cognition that Jesus in Paradise Lost follows the same epic code of honor as Odysseus.

Thus, in proposing what might be called for in the training of a teacher of literature, we would expect that the student should know, from a study of the text of the works themselves:

A) The Epic Tradition: Classical (Iliad, Odyssey, Aeneid)
English (Paradise Lost)
Modern (Joyce's Ulysses)
and in children's versions.

B) Poetry: The emphasis should be on the development of a critical method of interpretation which would make the teacher able to explore and discover poetry with the children.

C) Folktales and Fairytales: A knowledge of these forms is particularly desirable because here is the real bridge between "children's literature" and "adult literature."

D) Fable: The fable, from Aesop to La Fontaine, is probably one of the earliest forms the child will encounter. The teacher, clearly, must be thoroughly cognizant of the variations of fable and the traditional conventions of the form.

E) Myth: Because myth-making is central in the history of literature, the elementary teacher should have actual experience not only with Western mythology (Greek, American Indian, etc.) but with exotic myths as well.

F) Allegory and Romances: The literary traditions of the Middle Ages find themselves again and again the favorites of children. A special knowledge of the conventions of these works is often essential to their interpretation.

G) Prose Fiction: The history and conventions of this genre are of especial importance in the understanding of stories for children.

All of these forms live as literature and should be read as literature. The focus of the study of these works is to instill in the elementary teacher:

A. A sense of the family of literature.
B. A vital knowledge of the forms of literature.
C. A working critical sense.

Perhaps the timing for this course (or courses) should be before an intensive study of books for children. When the student turns to the study of the books available for the child, he should have a good critical sense already developed so that he can study his subject with the same awareness as he studied the Epic and other forms.

No course in the literary training of an elementary teacher should be taught from a purely historical or bibliographical stance. The training in literature must always strive to develop both a first-hand knowledge of literature and a creative sense of interpretation and interest in exploring other works.

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Footnotes:

1. Flavel, John, The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget, Van Nostrand, 1963, p. 50.

2. Piaget, Jean, Play, Dreams, and Imitation in Childhood, Norton, 1962, p. 287.

3. Chadwick, H. M. and N. K., The Growth of Literature, Cambridge, 1932, p. 4 ff.

4. Dixon, John, Growth Through English, NATE, 1967.

The Non-Structural Approach to Children's Literature

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The teaching of children's literature has been dominated by a 'structural approach.' This approach conceives of a curriculum as a package of information or knowledge, carefully arranged to be dispersed to the child without consideration of its relevancy to his life. Its purpose is to disseminate information (and in some instances, it has another goal -- preparation for a job). Altogether too often, such a curriculum supposes a standard behavior pattern for all children and standard learning during each year of school. And the structured curriculum supposes that being confronted with a concept, the student certainly remembers it, thus making possible a firm conceptual base on which successive layers of the knowledge pyramid may be built. In fact, however, students neither grasp nor retain knowledge at a consistent rate. Because a concept has been 'taught' does not mean it has been assimilated into the thinking of the child. The prearranged curriculum with its clearly-stated list of expected behaviors also runs the risk of creating for the teacher a sense of misgiving or failure when such pre-determined behavior does not emerge. The teacher's instinctive reaction is to assume he has not 'pushed' the pupils diligently enough. Consequently, he resorts to direct or deductive methods of 'implanting' whatever it is that will result in the desired behavior.

The non-structural approach to children's literature denies that there is, or should be, a standard, absolute or pre-arranged curriculum in children's literature. This approach favors a curriculum governed by the experiences of the pupil. When the teaching about rules, principles, and forms is begun too soon, children inevitably are asked to verbalize and conceptualize before they have enough working experience to give them an internalized understanding. In the non-structured curriculum the teacher will make available to the child a variety of enjoyable literary experiences, experiences which correspond to areas of his own experience (such as having friends; doing things you are told 'not to do'; helping or protecting your friends; finding something that is lost or hidden; being scared and resisting this feeling; knowing something others don't; tricking someone, etc). The child will take up that literature and that kind of literature which will help him to make sense of his world. The teacher must therefore provide the student with many different experiences and with various opportunities to discover what will help him make sense of his world. The curriculum then is not a package of information or knowledge, carefully arranged to be dispensed to the child. It does not depend on a chart of 'what is to be learned in Grade V' which is put on a wall. The non-structural approach assumes that the life experience of a child will be the 'chart' to which he refers during his experience with literature. The non-structured approach also insists that a listing of 'desirable behaviors' toward literature can only be given in the most general terms, and never meaningfully as grade-level expectancies. It assumes that the objectives of a sound literary approach are constantly in the teacher's mind, but it also advises the teacher to be patient about the rate of the students' development in the direction of realizing the objectives of the approach.

Given this frame, the primary reasons for having literature in the elementary school are:

1. To allow the child to see the relationship between his life as it is actually enacted and life as it is represented for literature. The reality that the child experiences in the literature will depend, of course, on the child's experience with reality outside the literature.

2. To allow the child to make his own decisions and interpretations about literature, and to learn to trust his own responses.

3. To allow the child to realize that being a spectator in literature is much the same as being a spectator of life in general, or of films, television, or spoken narrative, specifically. The child learns to accept or reject emotional values in the narrative of literature as he does as the spectator of other narratives. Thus his imagination-in-the-role-of-spectator becomes educated.

4. To allow the child to gain an understanding of the literal meanings in literature, why the choice and arrangement of words was made, and its modes of expression, structures, and conventions. In behavioristic terms this means to have the child react to literature, to remark about its forms, to interpret its parts and evaluate its importance. This comes from the talk about experience that the reading of the literature engenders. In a non-structured approach this demand for interpretation will arise naturally from the talk of the pupils. The danger that explication will become an end in itself may thus be avoided, for the pupil will move from a concern for the personal and literal level of a piece of literature to a concern for its literary level inductively and not through definition: through experience with the piece. In this way the child recognizes the value of the critical approach to literature as he sees the approach functioning.

5. To allow the child to experience the oral tradition of literature. To do this the teacher in all grade levels will do much reading aloud of children's literature. From the early grades of school onward he will steep the pupils in authentic folklore, fairy tales, drama, myth, fable (this will act to reduce the 'taboos' now imposed on children's literature), and particularly with literature in the generic modes of romance and comedy. Whatever attempts are made at this level to discover the conventions or structures of these genres, will be made not for the purpose of discovering 'what comedy is' as an end in itself, but of assisting the child to come to 'meaning' in life and in literature.

6. To help the child realize that literature is closely related to the other aspects of the English curriculum. For example, the writing of the pupils themselves may be the literature studied whenever this writing shows a shrewdness of observation of details, a fidelity to the writer's experience, and a truthfulness that comes from his interest and personal involvement. Having written a story or poem the child can be given the opportunity to see how an adult author handled the same topic. The choice of the literature is important here. If the child is to write imaginatively about the mysteries, wonders, even terrors of his inner life he must have literature that represents these areas of his experience. Literature is seen for this purpose as a key way of representing experience, and furthermore for reconstructing it, for giving it shape. In the non-structured approach to children's literature the pupil will also realize the close relationship of drama and literature. He will become both writer and actor in drama. In the first instance what he has done can be compared with the works of others. And in the creative acting-out of stories the child-actor also gives his interpretation to the material. This interpretation reflects the non-literary reality he has experienced.

7. To allow the child to widen the scope of his imagination. In the non-structured approach the rich world of literature can be responded to by the pupil as personally additive to his real experience. Literature handled this way teaches the child both to think and to imagine. It becomes one of the important experiences he will have to expand his imagination.

8. To allow the child to experience the pleasurable aspects and develop attitudes toward reading that enable him to enjoy having been taught to read. This means that the child must receive from reading literature some gratification of his psychological needs, not that he receive a background in the 'best literature' at the price of a loss of interest and imagination. Secondary objectives in this non-structural program might involve an understanding of rhetoric and style in a work, knowledge of the various genres of literature, and ability to make critical judgments about the work. But these are ancilliary objectives, if objectives at all, to those primary objectives stated above.

The kinds of books necessary for such a non-structural approach will depend primarily upon the interests and capabilities of the pupil. The interests or capabilities will not, however, be met by the so-called basal textbooks. They present a dishonest and distorted picture of the world, a picture senseless, ambiguous, and contradictory to life experience -- both in terms of content and language. Elementary teachers tend to regard basal readers as books to teach the child to read, not as books that might be fun and interesting to read. As educationally distressing as the basal textbooks are the literature anthologies for children: anthologies (now restricted primarily to the secondary levels, but projected for the elementary) which try to present literature, not as literary, but as social commentary -- and even there they fail. Using tradebooks is the wise alternative to use of the basal readers and the anthologies. In using the tradebooks, 1) the child may have a hand in choosing what he will read; 2) the teacher may consciously select books in different genres; 3) the teacher may select books applicable to the children's way of life and interests; and 4) the teacher may refer to the latest bibliographic sources for help. If the teachers and pupils do a conscientious selection of tradebooks, they will be bound up with the individual's whole intellectual, emotional, social, and spiritual life. The most effective guides the teacher can use for selecting literature for children are their individual and group life experiences, especially those out-of-school.

In choosing the specific pieces of literature to use with young children there are, however, some broad perspectives one can consult. Children like books in which the family is the central group, the characters flat and melodramatic, and in which nature has a mythic force. We know from Piaget that the beginner displays certain cognitive structures. He is egocentric and cannot separate reality from self. This preoperational child (1) demonstrates his inability to take the role of others, to see his viewpoint as one of many possible. He appears to make little effort to adapt his speech to the needs of others; (2) feels the compunction neither to justify his reasonings nor to look for contradictions to his logic; (3) is confined to the surface of the phenomena he tries to think about; (4) thinks but cannot think about his own thinking; (5) focuses impressionistically and sporadically. He does not link a whole set of successive conditions into an integrated totality; (6) exhibits cognitive organization which tends to dislocate itself in accommodating to new situations; (7) thinks in very concrete ways, e.g., things are as they appear to be; (8) cannot keep premises unaltered during a reasoning sequence. He cannot return to an initial premise. His factual correctness is no guarantee that logic was used. He tends simply to juxtapose cause and effect; (9) endows physical objects with life, consciousness, etc; (10) believes objects and events in the world were made by men for specific anthropocentric purposes; (11) has primitive concepts of morality and justice; (12) copes immaturely with time, causality, space, measurement, number, quantity, movement and velocity; and

(13) does not distinguish play and reality as different cognitive realms with different ground rules. We see, then, that the child tends to concentrate on the small, the discrete, the familiar, the immediate, and the present. What is coming next, the unknown, the past, the potentialities of existence (rather than actual experience) all are poorly developed in his consciousness. The young child tends to project to remote figures (dragons, kittens) before he projects himself into the human characters in literature. And his sense of humor revolves around slapstick, simple word play and riddles. Although the child may evidence limited 'cognition' and perceptiveness, it is important that he read various kinds of, and complexities of, literature. He must be allowed books mature in theme and content in order for literature to serve as a stimulator of cognitive and affective change. (This means a piece of literature may be chosen at any given point in the program where the teacher feels it will order, extend, and enrich, and above all 'mean' in the experience of the child.) The literature must be literature neither of escape nor denial; it must be inventive rather than practical; and it must present the real difficulties in being a plain decent human being (much as Catcher in the Rye does). Children are exposed today to the visual surfaces of everything from birth to violent death via television. How can childrens' books compete unless they 'tell it like it is.' Because of the nature of literature and its relationships to human needs it is legitimate to talk then of teaching the whole child with literature rather than teaching the 'subject,' literature, to children.

Without question the problem of exactly what a child is capable of dealing with in books at a precise time in his development remains an open subject. The non-structural approach insists that the teacher guard both against underrating and overrating children's abilities, and that this can only be accomplished through a flexible non-graded approach with children's literature that plainly tries things out with children and then makes the necessary adjustments this experimental procedure indicates. It realizes that the capable teacher will accomplish more, the mediocre teacher less, than has ever been the case. But in the non-directive approach, the pupils will not be frightened by being pushed too hard or fast, or be bored by being kept at some supposedly predetermined proper place.

As the student realizes the relationship of the content of his reading to his own psychological and sociological existence, he can deduce certain literary generalizations. From this point he can be led to realize that these generalizations are useful in discussing literature in general, in noting how a piece of literature fits into his total field of experience with literature. The objective of this growth in the power to abstract generalizations about literature is, of course, not intended as an end in itself, but is aimed at accomplishing the goals of the non-structured approach viz., to allow the child to see the relationship between his personal and his literary life, to develop his power to make decisions about literature, to develop his power of selecting literature, to give him the power to revisit the oral tradition in literature, to give him the capacity to use his understanding of literature to reinforce other language skills, to develop his imagination, and, just plain, to have fun or pleasure.

As the student reads for fun and pleasure, he should not be asking questions geared to the content of the story only, but to the content related to his own experiences, e.g. 'What happened in the story that has happened to me?' 'How did I feel when it happened to me,' etc? After the child has dealt with his own and others' experiences in relation to the material, he should ask himself about his reaction to the book, e.g. 'Was it exciting enough?' 'Were interesting words used?' 'Did it tell things as they really are?' Then he may be asked to evaluate his responses to the book: 'why is the book easy to read?'; 'what was it about the book that made me think of my own experiences?'; 'was there any unusual writing in the book?'

A teacher's success in using either questions that try to look into the effect of the book on the child's sensibilities and those that try to evoke his cognitive powers will depend on his asking the same questions concerning material he reads to the class. In this way the stage will be set for individual children to begin reading books of their choice, asking themselves questions, and 'sharing' their reading with others. Using this format, the child chooses his own questions and finds his own answers with a minimum of teacher supervision. What we have described as the structured approach to literature generally demands that the literature to be read, the questions to be asked of it, and the answers that are judged proper or correct come from a source outside of the child's life experience -- and unhappily often outside that of the teacher's. Such is often the case, unhappily, in the teacher's guide in a standard textbook or a pre-arranged curriculum guide to children's literature. In brief, in the non-structured approach the teacher introduces questions in the affective realm first, and then in the cognitive domain. Preparation for individual work is given in group sessions. Reporting or sharing can be verbal or non-verbal. Children self-select from available material what they wish to read and read it at their own pace. Using or enjoying literature branches off subtly into learning about literature.

As with all open-ended processes the non-structural approach has inherent weaknesses which will, if they are not guarded against, work to delay the achievement of the objectives of the approach. Primarily, these objectives are related to the extent to which the teacher takes an active or dominant role in the literature program. The teacher of literature must guide his pupils to good books. Obviously, the teacher may need to assert his judgments as to a child's needs for knowledge, particularly when these judgments differ radically from what the child sees as his needs. But basically, the assertion that the child needs to know this or that should be done in the spirit of giving guidance. The essential problem seems therefore to be one of emphasis or degree. One should not assume that the teacher in the non-structured approach is without a plan as to what he hopes to accomplish. He should be responsive to the need for the child (1) to engage himself with a piece of literature (to react to its form, tastefulness, language, and validity), (2) to perceive the configuration of its literary devices, its syntax and structure, its actions and characterizations, the relationships of the parts of its action, and its literary classification, (3) to interpret its stylistic devices, setting, characterization, and its level of mimesis, its style of 'exhortation,' its use of 'types and symbols' (to paraphrase Wordsworth), and, finally (4) to evaluate its inner plausibility and moral significance. All this presumably needs to be said if the conclusion is not to be drawn that the non-structured approach is formless and consists of surrounding a child with walls of books of any nature and hoping he will read them. 'Formlessness' of any sort is, of course, as unrepresentative of what I deem to be the decorum of the non-structural approach as is the use of a fixed syllabus which guides every movement in the day and for both teacher and pupil. The non-structural approach decries both the 'mere complexity' of the formless and the 'out-of-nature' Byzantine rigidity of the dictatorial.

The Language Training of the Elementary Teacher: Linguistics, Speech, Composition:

John Ebbs, Laura Chase, and Jack Kittell

The three papers which follow are, like the papers on literature, papers which deal with the training of the elementary teacher in a single area and deal with training in that area from perspectives which represent both the disciplines and Education. The area is in this case the structure of the English language (and its oral and written uses in classrooms for children). John Ebbs, who is a mediaevalist and a member of the English department of East Carolina College (also a former English coordinator in the North Carolina State Department of Education), writes of the training in linguistics which an elementary teacher ought to have; his recommendations are like those which have been conventionally offered and ignored over the last five years. However, his emphasis on the study of traditional scholarly grammar as an introduction to the problems which linguists and teachers face and his emphasis upon the necessity that the elementary teacher use the tools of the disciplines to analyze and interpret the language of elementary school children in practicum is new. He wants to set up situations which permit the teacher-in-training to know what the child knows and what he does not know and which assist the teacher in devising a curriculum which emerges from what the child is. Laura Chase, who is a member of the Speech Department at California State College at Los Angeles, speaks not so much of what Speech departments should be doing but of what teachers should be doing with children's talk in the classroom (her report may be considered a kind of introduction to the Reinehr-Byers report on the Nebraska practicum). However, her emphasis is, like Ebbs', on the development of interdisciplinary programs for training elementary teachers and on the use of the tools of the disciplines to assist the elementary teacher who trains in practicum to understand what children are saying. Anachronistically, while the scholars from the disciplines who participate in this discussion are concerned with classrooms, the scholar from Education is concerned with the theory of the discipline. Mr. Kittell writes from the perspective of the scholar in Education, but he is concerned with the elaboration of basic composition theory and not with 'methods' in the usual sense. Whereas Ebbs and Chase from the disciplines are concerned with interpreting classroom language as a 'microcosm' of all language, Kittell from Education is concerned with the basic theory of the discipline. That is as it should be. Ultimately the study of discipline and of its apprehension are one.

Linguistics

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East Carolina College

Practically all the activities of the Tri-University Project at the University of Nebraska during the year have been concerned with language, the language of children, and the training in language given elementary teachers so they can deal with the language of children. Such training of teachers, I feel, is the most important part of their pre-service training program. As I stated in my paper "A Language Course for Teacher Training Programs in Elementary Education," training in language has assumed a critical role in the preparation of teachers in our elementary classrooms of the present and for the future: recent developments in linguistic research, plus increasing educational demands upon all children, make imperative a reassessment of the kind of language training elementary teachers have received in the past in light of the almost certain demands of the future. Too often, in the past, the language training the elementary teacher has received has been, at best, superficial and lacking in any real sense of purpose and direction. Most language training was based on so-called prescriptive grammar studies, studies which did not take into account actual speech, specifically the actual speech of children.

Linguistic research has shown conclusively that by the age of six years children have already acquired profound proficiencies in language. A six-year-old child, typically, has at his command a rich vocabulary, an intuitive recognition of how to make and to understand sentences, and, perhaps most important, an intense curiosity about all aspects of language. To meet the linguistic needs of such children, the elementary teacher must have more than a body of rules or admonitions which present very strict paradigms of right's and wrong's. She must have training which will enable her to take children where they are in language proficiency and build on and enrich what they already possess. Such training will make imperative a working familiarity with the methods of linguistic description; such training will make desirable an understanding of the creative processes of language and the positive side of linguistic variety. Such training requires intensive practicum work with children using the tools of linguistic description. Such training, in short, will make inevitable an awareness that language growth is limitless and, in almost every respect, of an individual nature.

In considering the structuring of training programs and the use, in such structures, of the tools of linguistic description, it is important that the teacher begin with a knowledge of traditional scholarly grammar as a foundation for her study of linguistics, whether structural or transformational. For example, much traditional terminology has either been retained or only slightly modified by the linguists: James Sledd in *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* says that he "preserves as much of the schoolroom tradition as. . . (he) thought possible" (p. 10). The sentence as the basic unit of discourse has been accepted; parts of speech such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives are still called nouns, verbs, and adjectives (though their definitions and the means of arriving at definitions vary). Traditional scholarly grammars deal with proprieties of language usage which appear everywhere in print, and which abound in typical schoolroom language. The *shall-will* distinction, the *who-whom* rules, the use of the subjunctive *were* at the proper time, the *than-from* usage--these 'proprieties' are but a few of those that still remain among us, and are all treated definitively in traditional scholarly grammars--though *not* in so-called traditional grammars used in the schools. The main purpose of traditional school grammar has not been to describe the working proprieties operative in our society; instead, it has been to prescribe certain proprieties. A prescriptive approach is not being advocated here. Yet, because the prescriptions of the prescriptive grammarian are still discussed, the elementary teacher should have a familiarity with them and of their origins. This familiarity will be of use to her in that it will give her a recognition of the superficiality of demanding such usages--particularly without regard to their context. Although it is not envisioned here that the elementary teacher will ever come to the place where she will openly condemn anyone who observes the traditional proprieties, it is hoped that she will never arrive at position in which she will rigorously demand them. The limitations of traditional grammar are, however, obvious, particularly in its observance of grammatical dogmas designed to make English over in a close family relationship with Latin dogmas, designed further to stabilize the language once-and-for-all.

Perhaps the most significant work done by the structural school was done in the area of phonology and graphemics, areas profoundly significant to our understanding of reading, writing, and spelling. Elementary teaching and training in the past has dealt almost exclusively with the written form of communication. But because the spoken language is, for the children, the main vehicle of communication, holding primacy over the written representation, the teacher training program should be structured around children's speech. The teacher should then build onto and enrich that performance. The teacher must therefore know a great deal about the spoken language--about the sounds of the spoken language, how they are produced, and their possible combinations in consonant clusters, for example. She must be familiar with the vocalic, consonantal, and diphthong phonemes in our language, with the suprasegmental phonemes of stress, pitch, and juncture, and with the graphemic representations of phonemic sounds. The phonological component of teacher training program should, then, be structered around the following linguistic concerns:

I. The vocal organs and the production of speech sounds.
II. Important speech features.
  A. Stress.
  B. Pitch.
  C. Juncture
III. English consonants.
IV. Short vowels.
V. Long vowels.
VI. Diphthongs.
VII. Phonological transcription.
VIII. Phonemic-graphemic relationships and their implications for reading and spelling training.

The tools of linguistic description which would form the basis of this teacher training program should include the observing of the phonology of dialects objectively, the careful collecting and the analyzing of data pertinent to the investigation, the submitting of descriptive findings to other linguists for testing and verification, and the formulating of new hypotheses on the basis of the data gathered. Having learned such techniques, the teacher will develop an understanding of the sound system of dialects, and will be able to effectively analyze the speech habits of children, individually and collectively.

Transformational grammar, although it derives much of its inspiration from traditional descriptions of syntax, attempts to describe the language as it is used, not as it "should be" used. The transformation system places great emphasis upon two concepts relevant to the elementary teacher's work; the distinction between linguistic competence and linguistic performance. The linguistic competence of a child includes the entirety of his knowledge of the system of language, such knowledge, the transformationalist affirms, being enormous even at the age of six years. Linguistic performance, on the other hand, signifies the actual use the child can make of this knowledge at any particular stage in his development. The strikingly significant disparity between the apparently great amount of linguistic knowledge and the rather limited use to which such knowledge is put by the child at any point is a central focus of transformational research. This research, although it has not created a complete system, may contribute greatly to our understanding of how we may stimulate in children an enlarged and more productive linguistic performance.

One of the significant discoveries of transformational grammarians is that the number of basic English sentence structures is finite, and that all other sentences, no matter how simple or complex, are transformations of these basic sentence structures. Since the sentence is the basic unit of the English language, a means is hereby provided for observing children engage in exciting extensions (transformations) of the basic sentence structures they know and use. In order to use and describe transformations, the teacher and the student must be acquainted with their "deep structure," that is, the set of semantic relations expressed in a sentence. The teacher herself should acquire a knowledge of deep structure to aid her in her understanding of the creativity implicit in the process of sentence production and the options available. In addition, advances by the transformationalists in an understanding of the true features of the primary parts of speech will add to the elementary teacher's total understanding of word functions and relationships.

The results of such a teacher education program would be both direct and indirect. As a direct result of the teacher's knowledge of linguistics, she would be able to observe, analyze, and predict speech habits. With this knowledge, the teacher could understand the childrens' dialects, an important result in itself. When the child comes to school, he is confronted by the classroom dialect, a dialect different from that used in the home--perhaps consisting of new sounds, as well as (to him) a curious syntax and morphology and including or excluding various sorts of lexicon. If the child is from a home speaking the prestige dialect of the region, the transition to school may not be quite so frustrating as for those coming from homes using various non-prestige dialects of English, or even dialects of language other than English (Spanish, American Indian, German). But whether or not the child is from a home using a standard dialect, the teacher must be prepared to give what may amount to second-language instruction. Once the teacher is capable of understanding childrens' dialects, once she is capable of teaching children how to develop their speech patterns, she can open the way to their increased perceptiveness and imaginativeness in language usage.

One of the indirect promises of serious teacher education in the linguistic area is in the area of psycholinguistics. Edward Sapir in 1929 first alluded to "the interpretation of human conduct in general" that would result from the study of linguistics. Charles E. Osgood and Thomas A. Sebeok have recently stated that psycholinguistics "is concerned in the broadest sense with relations between messages and the characteristics of human individuals who select and interpret them." In a narrower sense, psycholinguistics studies those processes whereby the intentions of speakers are transformed into signals in the culturally accepted code and whereby these signals are transformed into the interpretations of hearers. In other words, psycholinguistics deals directly with the processes of encoding and decoding as they relate states of messages to states of communicators." Psycholinguistics is particularly relevant insofar as it is concerned with the area of language acquisition, a new area opening up great possibilities for a sophisticated study of cognitive development. Without explicit instruction, with only mere exposure to the language of others, a child easily learns a language. In approximately thirty months between the age of eighteen months and four years, the child develops a sophisticated mastery of the language. By the time they reach school, children have acquired an amazing knowledge of the way the language works. They are, however, by no means finished with their language acquisition. Their cognitive development will not be complete until the age of twelve, and they will acquire vocabulary, style, and dialect for some time, perhaps for the remainder of their lives.

Using their knowledge of the methods of psycholinguistics, teachers could supply an environment in which children might use their own language or learn a "new" one with greater freedom, ease, and power. And since children master language more readily than do adults, through the observation and analysis of childrens' developing speech habits, new ways might be found to facilitate adult learning of a new language.

Because of the possibilities implicit in the study of psycholinguistics, elementary teachers should know as much as possible about psycholinguistic research in language acquisition. They might, because of the interest developed during their training, continue such study and discussion after they have assumed their in-service positions. Such findings from psycholinguistic research which seem pertinent to their attempts to build onto and enrich the language foundations of their pupils should be incorporated into their instructional practices.

The language course which has been suggested in this paper then contains the following components:

1. Methods of linguistic description
2. Traditional grammar
3. Structural phonology
4. Transformational grammar
5. Dialects
6. Psycholinguistics

The curriculum implementation of such a course may vary greatly from institution to institution. Some institutions may wish to establish a training program which fits the components into the total undergraduate curriculum of prospective elementary teachers. Others may wish to establish a year-long language course, giving emphasis to all components with special emphasis reserved for those components in which prospective teachers have had no previous training. Still others may wish to consider the course in terms of one and one-half years, with formal training delegated to a year-long language course and intensive application during the student teaching phase. In any case each course should include extensive practicum work in the description of tapes and videotapes of the language, language acquisition, and language behavior of children in Early Childhood Centers and in schools and using the tools for describing the child's language of the six areas listed above. On the basis of such analytic work, a teacher capable of elaborating the rudiments of a language policy for the schools and a teacher capable of herself making a relevant curriculum in such areas as oracy, spelling, and certain aspects of reading, might be trained. It is felt that a course of only one semester's duration, unless it focuses upon no more than one or two components, can accomplish only the superficial type of training that has characterized much of the training in the past.

Because giving children power over language is not only desirable but necessary, it is imperative that we quickly set up good linguistics programs for elementary teachers. Professors of education, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, speech pathologists, psycholinguists, and of course linguists, must work cooperatively at the training of the elementary teacher. Cooperation is no longer an ideal; it is a necessity. The disciplines must bear the responsibility for the deep training in language; the professional areas such as education must be responsible for the professional methodology and school orientation which make the instructional implementation possible. In my opinion, the men who are best able, on our college and university campuses, to create such cooperation are the Deans and Directors of Instruction to whom the Tri-University Project is, in part, addressed.

Oracy

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I wish to speak from the perspective of the representative of the Speech Department and concerning its responsibilities for the training of elementary school teachers at the in-service and pre-service level.

Observing, listening, and speaking consitute a triad. They are what is requisite if human beings are to understand and then communicate, communicate everything from the most trivial thoughts to the most profound. These three interrelated acts may be grouped under the term 'oracy', the verbal and non-verbal means by which individuals communicate.[1] The act of communication is, of course, not new, but the process involved is of such importance that we need to restate it in terms that will draw together the full implications of 'oracy' for the field of giving instruction in 'Speech' to pre-service and in-service elementary school teachers. If communication through language is mostly what makes us become what we become as persons, the study of human 'oracy' is the study of our becoming human.

Pre-service and in-service teaching in past years has taken little notice of the elementary child's skill in communication. Several researchers such as Piaget, Ruth Weir, Ursula Bellugi, Roger Brown and others, have shown conclusively that as early as at the age of three years, a child possesses a relatively sophisticated syntax and vocabulary acquired by speaking, listening, and responding. Yet when a child comes into the first grade classroom, he is confronted with the limited 'Run, Spot! Run!' syntax and vocabulary. When the schools assume such limited linguistic capacities in children and expect of them such limited performance, they are likely to get just that: limited evidence of capacity and limited performance.

The school expects silence, a milieu where children answer questions asked of them as simply as possible and seldom initiate conversations on their own. We were confronted with an example of such a situation in our own practicum experience in Nebraska. One day while we were observing a teacher and class of first graders, we noticed that the children would reply to the teacher with only a one or two word response. Yet, when the children lined up to sharpen pencils, they engaged in very elaborate conversations about a matter of importance to them. My point here is that schools inhibit rather than aid children in observing, listening, and speaking. Left to their own devices, children oftentimes develop 'oracy' more competently at play than in class.

Finally, and rather obviously, a major deterrent to many children who may want to talk in the classroom, particularly to ghetto children, is the classroom teacher's insistence on the use of a middle-class prestige dialect. When the child who is an 'outsider' comes to the classroom, his linguistic performance maybe inhibited by the strange dialect spoken there. He may not understand the teachers and he may not be understood. Taken together, the expectation of simplicity, silence, and restrictiveness can certainly restrict the child in his ability to observe, listen to and use the language.

It is not my purpose here to outline a specific curriculum which would remedy this situation. I do wish to suggest classroom forms and activities which will place the child and his language firmly in the center of the classroom. One of the first things the child needs to know is that before he listens to others, before he speaks himself, he must have carefully observed the data he wishes to converse about and the immediate audience that he wishes to converse with -- their interests, attitudes, and ways of responding. Whether he is preparing to tell a story, participate in a discussion, read aloud, or take part in drama, he must have observed the data and the audience. And a child needs to know that, although he *acts* as a listener: as a speaker he *presents* his own opinions, monitoring the response; as a listener he *attends* to what is being said, always measuring and evaluating what he hears. In some speech situations, he alternates speaking and listening, as in discussion, Reader's Theatre and drama; in others, he performs first and waits for the public evaluation until he has finished making the talk, telling the story, reading aloud, or taking part in group reading. The three parties existing in constantly shifting relationship -- the child when he speaks, his listeners, and the subject matter -- are stitched together by the language the child uses.

Various ways exist for the child to become aware of the relationship which exists between his 'self', his audience, and the subject matter concerning which he speaks. The class can, for example, discuss a poem, asking and responding to such a question as: "What is the poem 'The Meadow Mouse' about?" Or in preparation for speeches or papers, they might explore such a subject as "Why is there poverty?" Or four or five students might be involved in a give-and-take panel discussion. Older children can learn that the problem-solving form of discussion is a demanding one involving full consideration of providing background for a subject, giving a clear statement of the question, supporting opinions by facts, and delaying judgement until all the facts are presented. In still another instance, the pupil may give a talk which calls for narrowing a subject to fit a certain amount of speaking time and to fit the interests of the audience and which calls for a selection of illustrations and evidence needed to clarify each idea. A teacher needs to show children that making a talk is not just reading a written essay. It is presenting an oral composition to a live audience. What James Britton has called "transitional language"[2] (a stage between informal and formal language) is especially useful here -- 'transitional language' being the bits of personal material the speaker includes which will give human warmth to the 'talk,' thus providing a sense of familiarity between speaker and listener. Children may also tell stories -- similar as to the structure of relationships existing among speaker, audience and subject to organized talk; except that here the progression is from picture to picture; language serves the imagination more completely than it usually does in talks. The relationship between all these forms of 'speaking with' and 'relating with' groups can be pointed out to children.

A child should understand that reading aloud, reciting, or discussing implies the use of phrasing, intonation, and pause so that the presented material is clearly understood by both the reader and the listener. Older children so instructed will be able to grasp the idea that good technique in reading aloud and discussing are the basis for effective oral interpretation -- these techniques applied to imaginative material make selective and deep demands that the child discover the paralanguage and bodily response inherent in the material. Two specific techniques which can be used to stimulate children's language stem from oral interpretation. One is group reading, or choral reading, in which several students blend their speaking voices in a planned and rehearsed interpretation. While the material for group reading is usually verse, other literary forms can be used and interpreted by a grouping of voices. The other specific form growing out of oral interpretation, as well as being closely allied with group reading and drama is Reader's Theatre, or Interpreter's Theatre. In this form, several readers seated or standing read from a script held in their hands or placed on reading stands. Interpreters in a Reader's Theatre presentation engage the imagination of the audience by directing their reading to them instead of to each other as in a stage presentation. Reader's Theatre has been called "the theatre of the mind,"[3] because an audience is stimulated to participate actively from suggestions given to it through the readers' use of voice and body movement.

Probably the most useful dramatic form for the teacher to build upon is the natural one for children, that of dramatic play. Dramatic role playing enables a child to get hold of the language and attitudes of people around him, or of characters in stories, by actually practicing the language and the stances. Children's own dramatic play is temporary and exploratory, beginning and ending spontaneously with the child's interest. The small child can be a bucking horse one minute, and the next moment might find him curled up as a kitten; story sequence does not enter in. For example, nursery school children set out to play The Three Bears, but their walk through the forest led them to a make-believe candy store rather than back home for a confrontation with Goldilocks. Older children could follow the sequence of the same story, developing character, action and dialogue on the basis of their own understanding in the process called Creative Dramatics. Upper grade children find this form of drama useful in understanding the underlying feeling in a social situation. If the children evaluate their own experience after playing a scene, they may have a kind of valuable experience in doing a kind of primitive literary, or dramatic criticism.

These are the broad speech and listening activities involving language which could be encountered by a child as he progresses through elementary school. Each has its source, to a greater or lesser degree, within the child's own experience. Each is an activity which the school and the teacher can utilize as a basis for further work.

This kind of language activity -- this observing, speaking, and listening -- can obtain where there are objects to look at and manipulate, objects to take apart, objects which allow the child to 'find out how they go'; it can obtain where there are stories to concoct. In the later elementary years, there must be things of individual and common interest to investigate in science, literature, and in current problems. There must be things to talk about, tell about, to listen to someone else tell about; and there must be verbal encounters with the personal points of view of other people. The teacher must support and develop the child's linguistic ability by creating a classroom conducive to talk -- situations such as now exist in the Leicestershire Infant Schools.

Besides creating a classroom environment interesting for the child to observe and therefore to talk about, the teacher must regard her role as especially that of a listener. Listening is a basic part of the classroom activity, and each teacher must develop his own style of 'hearing' students in order to observe and discover the idiosyncratic messages which they convey through their language, their own pictures, poetry, stories, and drama. By listening to the children, the teachers can find out what their interests are and how the beliefs which they have brought with them to school can be utilized: represented in another way by means of relevant books, stories and poems; by means of music, pictures and drama. The concepts and skills which children bring with them become the take-off-point for teaching.

There are several ways a teacher can pick up verbal and non-verbal information in order to help him build a classroom environment interesting to the child and to develop a curricula pertinent to him. He can come up with his own intuitions as a result of talking with the child or by using a portable television set, sound camera, tape recorder or video tape devices.

Concepts and attitudes elicited from each child in conversation with the teacher can be taped and studied later so that a suitable course of study can be found for each individual child within his particular group. In addition, from such a transcription, the teacher can diagnose the child's dialect -- his syntactical and grammatical habits -- so that he can begin to develop an understanding of and rapport with the child on the child's own terms.

In order for a pre-service or in-service teacher to make sense of these taped conversations, he must rely on help from people in other subject areas of the school and in other disciplines in the university. A complete study should involve pathologists, linguists, psycho-linguists, anthropologists, speech therapists, and people from English, Education, and Speech. Professors from these areas should cooperate in setting up language analysis courses for the teachers, and these same people should be available to the teacher in his own teaching endeavors. Schools and universities especially need the services of specialists who are conversant with the process of language stimulation with pre-schoolers through sixth graders in order to provide the kind of program we have been talking about.

It is also most important that those college and university students who intend to be elementary teachers start working immediately with children. Practice in a laboratory situation should not be deferred until a fourth or fifth year. Prospective elementary teachers need the theory -- the study about children's linguistic growth and the use of language -- but they also need to observe this theory actually at work in children. They need to learn how to be involved with children personally. They need to sense through a practicum what linguistic performance can tell about the child, about his behavior patterns, and how the child's language and behavior patterns can be directly related to curriculum development, especially in the areas of literature, social history, and sciences. Departments of Speech, linguistics, English, etc. need to involve themselves actively in institutes and in-service training of elementary teachers out in the field. If they are willing to offer courses in the late afternoon, in the evening, or on Saturdays, or in special summer institutes, working teachers will be able to pick up whatever theory they need to apply in their teaching. These practicums should be planned and led by regular university faculty with consultants called in from many various specialty areas. Only through such continued knowledge of theory as applied in a particular practicum situation can the teacher become fully aware of all the implications of the process of observing, listening and speaking, the process of oracy.

Footnotes

1. Andrew Wilkinson, et al, Spoken English (Birmingham, 1966), p. 14, first suggests the term 'oracy' in relation to listening and speaking. But he does not include the act of observation which we have added here.

2. From notes taken on remarks made on the floor at the Second National Conference, Tri-University Project in Elementary Education in New Orleans, Louisiana, (February, 1968).

3. Leslie Irene Coger and Melvin White, Reader's Theatre Handbook (Clenview, Illinois, 1967).

Composition: Education and the Discipline of Composition

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In attempting to formulate a statement about composition in the elementary school, one is soon confronted with the fact that it is the subject of a great amount of opinion in the literature which ranges from flat assertions that 'writing' cannot be taught at all to rather elaborate descriptions of methods of teaching composition. But I think we can safely say that there is very little research evidence and certainly not a bit of conclusive evidence about teaching composition But with the accumulating research evidence stressing the cruciality of the childhood learning experiences, it seems that we must research the area of composition, find out what composition is all about so we can make it relevant to the kids, so they can meet their needs through writing. And so it was that I, in developing this statement about the teaching of composition in the elementary classroom, began to utilize some of the more established and better accepted ways of organizing educational activities as well as to consider new theories with a view to developing a better mousetrap.

The procedures which I used in developing this statement were rather simple. As chairman of a small group of teachers and professors meeting approximately eight times (guided by initial group discussions), I developed for each meeting a different segment of an overall viewpoint. Each segment was submitted in an incomplete form to the group for suggestions of revision, after which I wrote them into this report.

If one follows the argument of the kinesics specialist, Ray L. Birdwhistell,[1] composition is one of several basic forms of communication. While the spoken language and bodily action help to symbolize our thoughts, the written language has the burden of being a symbol of a symbol; although all human interaction is communication, we normally learn the process without being aware of learning it or of how we learn it or use it. Not so with the written language. Written language is a derived system seemingly derived from only one of many channels regularly used in human communication but frequently carrying the load of all of the channels. Since it is not a natural or tacitly learned system, it must depend in large extent upon translation of that from which it derives, the spoken language. If the spoken language does not effectively operate in terms of a verbal system alone, then effective written language has the added difficult requirement of accounting for and conveying what tacitly learned and used non-verbal channels of communication accomplish for oral verbal language.

Writing does overlap other channels of communication: thus, we must consider the processes of training children to communicate explicitly rather than tacitly, the role of communication in general for the school, and the role of composition.

Structure is basic to language, language use, and all communication. It follows that very young children somehow discover the principles of their language and how to apply those principles to construct the patterns necessary for effective communication. By the time they enter school, children have achieved a high level of mastery of oral-verbal language as well as of several other communication channels. The fact that they have learned it tacitly has led several reputable psycholinguists to theorize that the normal, healthy human infant has a birthright of genetic proclivity to satisfy his biological requirements through 'language,' a propensity to symbolize, and a quasi-instinctual tendency to classify and organize his sensory perceptions of his immediate environment (McNeill, Fodor, Chase in Smith & Miller, 1966).[2] What seems, at first, to be an undifferentiated shotgun approach to communication gradually becomes more and more differentiated through a variety of learning experiences at both the informal level (language learned by imitation of other speakers) and the formal level (language learned by precept and admonition) until schooling adds experiences at the technical level (language taught in explicit terms, usually from teacher to student). Schooling finally offers the possibility of attaining the highly differentiated abilities of a communication sharpshooter.[3] Again, almost completely tacitly, the average child learns before coming to school how to evaluate communication situations offered by his environment, how to adjust his communication to suit his intention and the situation. Almost any analysis of natural spoken language as used in informal situations will reveal that sentences are infrequently complete: in fact, certain elements of language may be omitted that are essential to meaning on a purely verbal level. But even with such omissions communication is accomplished. Obviously, elements from other communication channels, such as those studied by kinesics, by studies in paralanguage, haptics, proxemics, or those offered by the situation itself, have been employed to fill the gaps caused by the omission of verbal elements. The use of the situation is learned early by the child not yet capable of using complete patterns of verbal language and is interestingly chronicled by Piaget.[4]

Several studies which demonstrate the child's use of models for imitation have been done, perhaps most notably those of Brown and Bellugi (1964). Imitation in language tends to be an imitation of patterns which, through much repetition and reinforcement, lead either to the child's accommodation to the situation with which he is confronted so that the use of the pattern becomes a habitual response operating at the level of informal awareness (this is characteristic of psycho-motor learning), or to imitation which involve new patterns and lead to a confrontation with new experience which is assimilated through the process of equilibration which permits the child to establish a higher intellectual level (Flavell, 1963, pp. 41-121). The equilibration process that operates throughout the early years of childhood in developing a progression of higher intellectual levels seems to demand increasing amounts of awareness by the child. By the age of six or seven, most of a child's communicative abilities have been learned and are used at the informal level (out-of-awareness). In reaching this level of achievement the child has employed a variety of learning processes: inquiry and discovery, imitation and repetition, reinforcement and retention and accommodation and assimilation learning processes. He has done this partly at the informal level but to a limited degree at the formal level.

At school the child is suddenly confronted with new tasks in language learning (reading and writing). He is made aware of the processes by which he learns and of the nature of his new tasks. This must be so, for now the child must deal with higher level abstractions, that is, symbols of symbols (which is what the written language is). The sense in which composition is necessary to a school curriculum has been cogently stated by Muller: "I suppose there is no real question that something like composition is essential. It is a practical necessity because all students have to do considerable writing in other courses too, as on papers and tests, and still more in college. In later life, almost all will at least write letters, and many will have to do some kind of writing for their business or professional purposes. More important, by this effort students at least learn more about language, something about how to express various kinds of ideas, and so something about how to think . . . . By writing, they learn how to order and shape their experience, thereby learning more about life and themselves."[5] But we must realize that the ability to write can be scaled just as any other ability and is distributed throughout the population as any other ability. Why aren't the variations among human beings, which are readily acknowledged in art, intelligence, music, etc., acknowledged also when we approach the teaching of writing? Is it perhaps that, because all children learn the spoken language, it is believed they have nothing more to do than writing down their speech to be writers? Is anything more needed? Are those who urge us to learn our rhetorical repertory from professional writers--are the Francis Christensen's--mistaken? In reality there is little in what those who are capable of peering into the immediate future can see that would lead us to believe that an ability to write as a professional writer will be particularly useful. In fact, the evidence seems to point in other directions--to greater needs for oral language skills, for increased skill in encoding and decoding multi-media systems, graphics, colors, kinesics, proxemics, haptics, movement. Do not present systems allowing for copying with instant transmission make the study of writing seem dull and laborious? The real question is, "Do we need composition as it has been traditionally taught or even as it is being developed by the 'new rhetoricians?"

I would say "No" to traditional composition, and I would change somewhat the focus of the 'new rhetoric.'

It is the plea of my statement that the entire basis of composition be reconsidered in terms of man's total capacity for communication--starting with the study of the total communication system of a culture, the total inter-action of humans, and continuing with the study of the role of communication in the life of the individual and his search for self-fulfillment in a culture. I would treat writing as a derived, second-level symbol system of great value, one which may be used in conveying and recording special types of communication and one of many means of expression which may be used for ordering the self and thought. Writing is a derived form of communication and as such, to be effective, it must represent the effects of several natural systems that contribute to communication. James Moffett's viewpoint is a little like mine; his proposal is "to bring the methods of teaching English as nearly in line as possible with the goals for which English is used--thinking, speaking, listening, reading, and writing." Moffett continues, "This is best done, I claim, not by imitating empirical subjects and asking students to read about writing and write about reading, but by asking them to practice the skills themselves with actual raw materials and audiences, continuously but variously, at all ranges of the symbolic spectrum and in all relations that might obtain between speaker, spoken-to, and spoken-about."[6] Particularly pertinent to the present statement is Moffett's emphasis on the communication elements of the situation (speaker, spoken-to, and the spoken-about). My point-of-view is that in 'exercising' the natural systems which contribute to communication (upon which the 'artificial system' of writing is based) we must exercise more than speech. We must exercise the whole gestural and bodily repertory through which we 'say things' to one another. In fact, it is the characteristically non-oral features of the written system--modifiers, qualifiers, and substitutes, features usually ignored in oral communication--which make written composition almost unbearably difficult for the child. One would not wish to urge that all nonverbal structures be rendered completely self-conscious--and manipulated selfconsiously by all children; indeed, research has only begun to reveal the existence of such structures. I would propose that the nonverbal aspects of communication be brought to a much higher level of sensitive awareness than heretofore not only to improve composition but to enrich the individual 'self' in its relationship with the 'other.' Following Moffett's line, our purposes in teaching composition should derive from our general purposes in educating children: from our desire to enhance the child's ability to cope with an increasingly abstract environment and our will to improve his understanding of, and capacity to represent, his unique self. Our purpose in teaching composition should derive from our desire to enhance the child's ability to use all of a culture's symbol systems effectively.

If children learn best by discovering things for themselves, then they ought to be asked to discover for themselves what communication is by using language, by using their bodies and bodily gesture to communicate, by manipulating the situation, by trying out all sorts of media other than the written language. The child's encounter with the written language should be an encounter with but one of a repertory of ways of communicating.

We can set up what we might ask children to learn in such situations as a series of "If-then" contingencies:

(I) IF children become aware of the interrelationships which exist between the verbal and nonverbal aspects of their own communication process, THEN they will be better capable of controlling their communicative intent and situation.

(II) IF children who have become proficient in the spoken language are engaged in "formal," "informal," and "technical" learning experiences with the written language as a symbol of both their verbal and their nonverbal communication, THEN they will come to be better able to use the written language to communicate what all of the 'natural' channels normally communicate.

(III) IF children become conscious of structure unique to the written language, THEN they will know how deliberately to control the written language.

(IV) IF children find personal satisfactions in the use of the written language, THEN they will choose to use the written language to satisfy their personal and social needs.

I would like to recast these 'four purposes' for a writing program into three basic functions which, I believe, any effort to organize a composition program in the elementary school should attempt to fulfill:

(1) A writing program should teach the child whatever essential conformity to the linguistic norms of the culture is necessary if he is to "get his message across." This 'conformity' is intended to represent those minimal social requirements that pertain to a particular environment or pattern of environments. The actual minimal requirements may include a reasonable accuracy in basic punctuation, a command of a simple sentence structure, a basic vocabulary, a reasonably legible handwriting, a comprehensible spelling, and an interest in using the written language uncontaminated by strong inhibitions (even these 'conformities' may come to seem irrelevant in some environments). However, almost all of them can be learned rather painlessly, and through constant use and reinforcement can become almost second nature. Perhaps the most effective reinforcement is that provided through the child's realization that the required conventions may make certain contributions to his recognized success in more substantive and interesting written composition. It should be made clear that these minimal requirements are not unimportant. In fact, the mastering of certain basic structures may enable the child eventually to achieve a greater freedom and depth of achievement. But when form and social conventions become ends in themselves, when thought is nothing and the perception of reality and self-expression are secondary, then 'conformity' to linguistic norms has lost its meaning as a means to clarity of communication and has become an end which destroys the speaking of man to man.

(2) A composition program should teach a child to order his thought and his thought processes. An inherent requirement of most of the writing expected in technical learning experiences (school, professional and semi-professional) is that one's thought be presented in some intelligible order. Greater and greater proficiency in this area is required as one progresses through school or through a professional or semi-professional career. From a more personal viewpoint, the 'ordering of thought' is very pertinent to one's capacity to 'play the game' of each genre of literature. And while it is not likely that many children will become professional writers or, in fact, do any literary writing as adults, early experiences in writing, particularly writing in terms of basic literary structures, should equip the child the better to say who he is through the fantasies and fictions he sets down. From a purely personal viewpoint, some experiences with the structure of thought and thought

processes are probably essential to enabling the individual child to better perceive himself and those fragile patterns relating the affective to the cognitive, and to the intuitive, which constitute beauty.

(3) A composition program should teach a student to discover and express his unique 'self.' Modern culture seems to feel that this is possible and necessary for all children and a most important objective of the school. Such a discovery must take place in a social context which the school can provide. It may take one or more of several possible forms and utilize one or more of several possible media of which oral and written composition are only two. All children should be afforded enough experiences to discover a mode or modes peculiarly suited to their individual natures. The most appropriate for any particular child may, or may not be, oral or written composition.

With regard to determining the amount and areas of emphasis in an elementary school composition program, the school should not only recognize that informal (tacit) learning will continue both in and out of school but should so select and arrange the school environment so that whatever informal learning is accomplished in school is desirable learning (of fundamental patterns, of quality). However, both technical and formal learning experiences will perforce be those upon which the school will, in most circumstances, focus. The school must show that it is doing something which the street is not already doing. While I would in no way discount the value of oral composition, I would meet the demands that the more abstract nature of written language places upon the instructional program first and try to reflect in my composition program the increasing frequency with which written composition is expected through the school years. To be specific then: if I were to carry into the classroom my premises about what a 'composition' program for children ought to be and if I had teachers who knew what my analysis suggests that teachers should know:

(1) I would have children begin with the familiar, the known, the personal (e. g. their own communication abilities, both verbal and nonverbal, and the communication symbols in their own environment) and move to the strange, novel and unknown (other environments--their communication symbols and systems, adult forms of communication not as frequently used with children) in developing awareness.

(2) I would have them utilize guided active inquiry-discovery,

saturation-imitation, and practice-reinforcement means of learning.

(3) I would have teachers respect the personal, private nature of learning, of feeling, and of thinking while they were exploiting, for educational ends, the social aspects of communication.

(4) I would have teachers guide learning toward the recognition, identification, and use of structure, pattern and order of many types.

(5) I would have children and teachers develop an awareness of, and sensitivity to, the units (isolates), sets, and patterns of a variety of communicative systems.

(6) I would have kids and teachers develop an ability to talk about all of the aspects of communication.

(7) I would have children and teachers busy developing the ability to translate a variety of communicative media into oral and written verbal language.

(8) I would have children and teachers working to develop the ability to ascertain the relationship existing between the situation in which a man communicates, his communicative purpose, and his media and style of expression.

(9) I would have children work on their ability to exercise control over the language in its oral and written forms by having them make personal interpretations of the situation in which they communicate and their purpose for communicating.

Let me suggest how all this might work at the kindergarten level:

First: The use of oral language might be encouraged within a framing situation which invited the child to be conscious of his intention and to try to select the appropriate form for expressing his intention. The teacher might establish a climate of interpersonal relationships conducive to an easy, fluent, uninhibited, appropriate use of the oral language. There is a difference between a child's use of the oral language when he uses it freely and naturally at appropriate times and his completely uninhibited use of oral language regardless of its appropriateness to the situation.

Second: The communicative media are frequently used by the teacher, and children are encouraged to talk about, as well as reproduce, in oral language, the communications conveyed via other media. Exercises of this sort should help children to understand the relationships which exist between the verbal language and the other media; they should help them to begin gradually to develop the ability to translate into verbal symbols more and more of 'what has been said' by other media. Such experiences should bring gradually into conscious control verbal and nonverbal language. Children should be asked to talk about (and give meanings for) their own art, gestures, songs, rhythms, pictures, etc. Isolates (or even sets) cannot carry real meaning without a perception of the patterns of which they are a part. Many types of gross structure can be brought to the child's awareness if he is asked to perceive the regularities of the school's communication situations, the limitations of various media, etc.

Third: Various concepts normally applied to the 'verbal language' can be effectively applied to a variety of media and can effectively 'teach' one in all three types of learning situations--informal situations, formal ones, and technical ones:

(a) (Informal and Technical Situations) Toward the end of the year, the teacher may use tapes or movies in "show and tell" reports--demonstrating informally their manner, tone, intent, and sufficiency. Perhaps manner and tone can be technically taught; other aspects of what is "to be taught" may best be learned informally or tacitly.

(b) (Formal Situations) The teacher may read short appropriate poems and stories containing a simple prosodic structure: and look at the relationship of text to illustration (as to style) or the relationship of rhythm-of-text and rhythm-of-visual-style in a child's book.

(c) (Informal Situations) Children are made aware of the written language of books through their presence in the room, and through their observation of the teacher's use of the written language. They see the written language on the chalkboard, on labels at home, on T. V., and elsewhere (most children have some knowledge of signs which can be developed considerably at this level).

Fourth: At the cognitive level, children are encouraged to become sensitive observers of their own environment and to communicate their observations through oral language. If they use language to describe their sensory perceptions--these in the process will become more sensitive--they will learn to see in a way which differentiates and to talk in a way which is sensitive to subtle differences in the 'reality' talked about.

Fifth: To develop the child's discursive and logical sense, games and other activities are provided, games based on the classification of colors, simple shapes, sizes, and sounds. The purpose of these games would be to develop in the child a sense of pattern, of class relationships and of simple logical structures, and a capacity to talk about his own reasoning.

The school should assess and utilize the great variety of communication abilities which children have mastered prior to their entering into school and which they continue to develop in their out-of-school experiences. It should accept the various communication abilities a child brings to school as valid cultural characteristics which the school will help the child place in a wide perspective. It should be aware that the child is acquiring communication abilities at all times in the school. And it should shape its curriculum, its school environment, and its instruction accordingly. For the patterns of interrelationships which exist among the communicative systems which are components of the total communication process continually vary as the conscious or unconscious intent of participants shifts. Insofar as a communication system which the child is asked to use depends upon greater abstraction and a more conscious effort at acquisition, it is to some degree 'unnatural.' But to the degree that it is 'unnatural,' it is consciously learned and controlled. Its use is deliberately directed by the intent of the user. The written language is a derived system. Its use is generally closely related to the writer's conscious intention to change or manage a perceived situation. In short, written language is communication by deliberate decision. It is consciously structured to serve an intent related to the particular situation. Education is concerned with enlarging what man can do by deliberate decision without destroying any of his capacity to 'act' or to 'speak' spontaneously. It is concerned to build on what a child is spontaneously so as to allow him to become what he wants to be.

Footnotes:

1. Ray L. Birdwhistell, "Some Relationships Between American Kinesics and Spoken American English," in *Communication and Culture*, Alfred G. Smith, ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), pp. 182-189.

2. See McNeill, Fodor, and Chase in *The Genesis of Language: A Psycholinguistic Approach* (Cambridge, Mass. M.I.T. Press, 1962).

3. Ed. T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York: Doubleday, 1959), pp. 63-91.

4. *The Language and Thought of the Child* (New York: World Publishers Co. [Meridian Books], 1955).

5. Herbert J. Muller, *The Uses of English* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1967), p. 98.

6. Muller, pp. 110-111.

A System for Giving Instruction in Reading

George Coon and George Grangaard

The essay which follows is the joint product of two members of the New York University branch of the Tri-University Project. Messrs. Coon and Grangaard are, like the members of the English segment of the project, concerned with the ways in which the insights of the disciplines may best be brought to bear upon the act of training a child (and so the act of training a teacher). They endeavored to discover by asking those with research experience and those with practical field experience what they saw the act of reading as being. The answers of concerned people suggested that a series of disciplines need to be studied by the Reading teacher: linguistics, psycholinguistics, the psychology and physiology of perception, psychoanalysis and so forth. (The appendix to the Coon-Grangaard article, by the Reading committee of the Nebraska project, suggests what training in linguistics a Reading teacher ought to have). Whereas commonly suggestions for curriculum revision involve suggestions for the revision of a single course, the Coon-Grangaard proposal is a proposal for the revision of the total structure of training programs in Higher Education, based on a suggestion for the revision of the program to prepare a teacher to teach children to read. The proposal calls for (1) the allocation to the disciplines outside of Reading of instruction in the areas which interpret the reading act but which depend primarily on another discipline; (2) the relating of the Reading course to a mediated laboratory where instruction through the media can be done and where Higher Education can really take cognizance of recent developments in the media and in learning theory; (3) the creation of a clinical reading experience laboratory which allows for the systematic use of course materials in diagnosing what kinds of instruction individual children need; (4) the creation of systematic 'flow lines' for evaluating what a program is doing for a teacher, at the pre-service and at the in-service level, and for allowing the teacher to evaluate for himself what he is doing in a program.

An Interdisciplinary Approach To Undergraduate Teacher Education In Reading

by George E. Coon
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and
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The overall purpose of the Tri-University Project in Elementary Education was to give selected college teachers an opportunity to help shape teacher training curricula at their own institutions. The specific objectives of New York University's portion of this project were two-fold: first, to focus on the application of theory and research in behavioral sciences to teaching; and, secondly, to examine and evaluate contemporary curriculas both in elementary education and in the training of elementary teachers. Some of us who were NYU Tri-University participants centered our studies on the specific area of reading and with the aid of behavioral scientists (as well as other educators who shared their ideas and research) developed a program for up-grading an undergraduate curriculum in reading instruction.

In order to up-grade the curriculum for training teachers of reading, we sought answers for the following questions:

a) Why is change in reading curricula necessary?

b) What is to be accomplished by such change?

c) How can change best be effected?

d) What are the criteria by which we can measure effectiveness of innovation?

We hoped that the strategies and conditions which we used in suggesting what revisions in the training of teachers ought to be made in the specialized area of reading could also be used for curricular revisions in other areas. We based this hope on the assumption that there can be sufficient energy generated within a 'subsystem' to bring about change in the 'total system.'

The importance of reading was underscored by John Gardner in Goals for Americans, a report by the President's Commission on National

Goals. Gardner, who was later to become Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, stated that, "Reading is the most important of all [subjects] . . . ."[1] He went on to suggest that the first step in improving the teaching of reading is to improve teachers. He reported: "It is a mistake to suppose reading can be taught by an untrained person. Every elementary teacher who gives instruction in reading should have had courses in the methods of teaching reading."[2] Up to this time very little special consideration has been given to the area of reading -- the area itself is ill-defined, and the teachers of reading ill-prepared. If we are to deal effectively with teacher training in reading, we must ask 'What kind of teacher is needed?' and 'What kind of program is needed?'

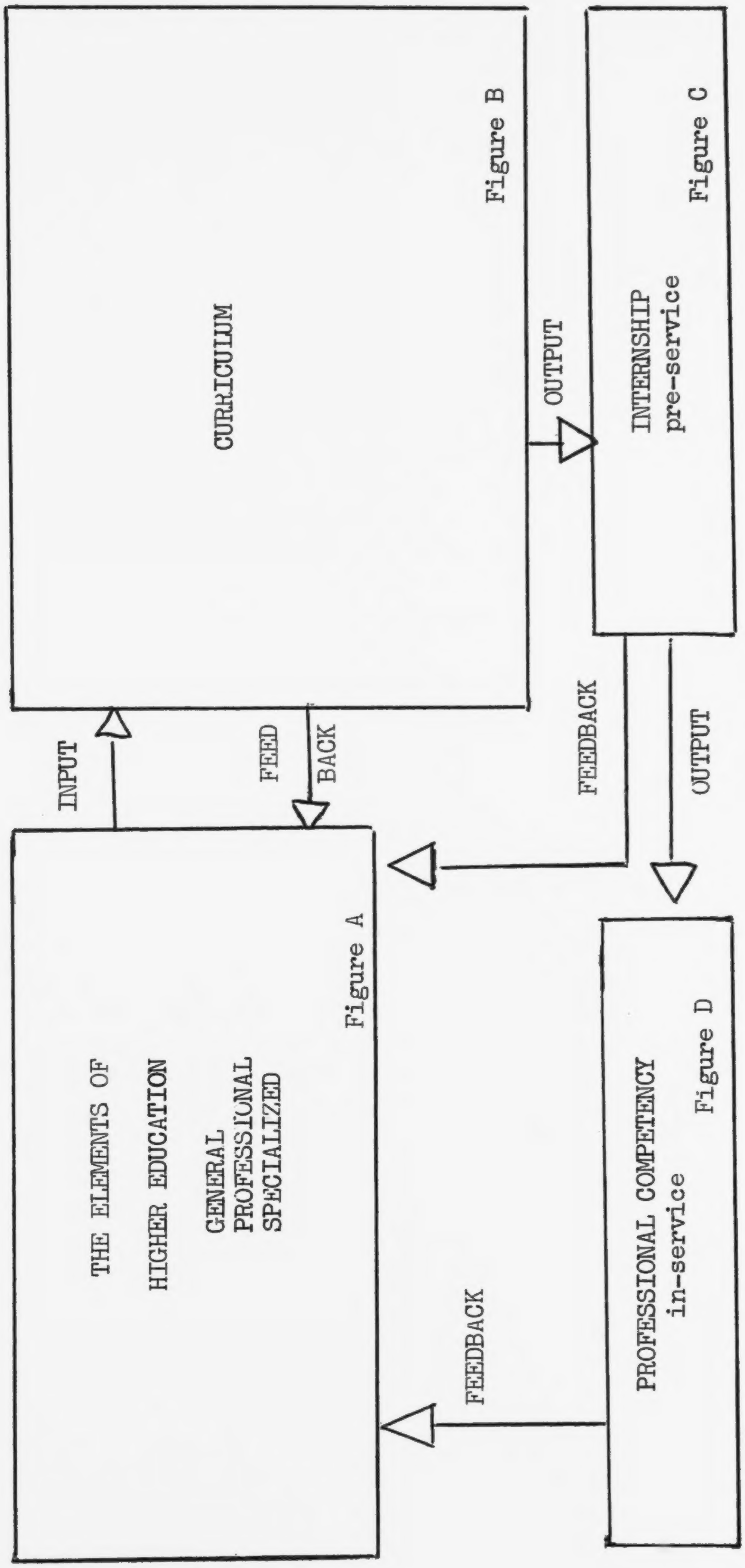
We said that an elementary teacher who is a good reading teacher needs to be able to do three things:

(1) He needs to be able to make an instructional prognosis.

(2) He needs to be able to organize and conduct a reading program.

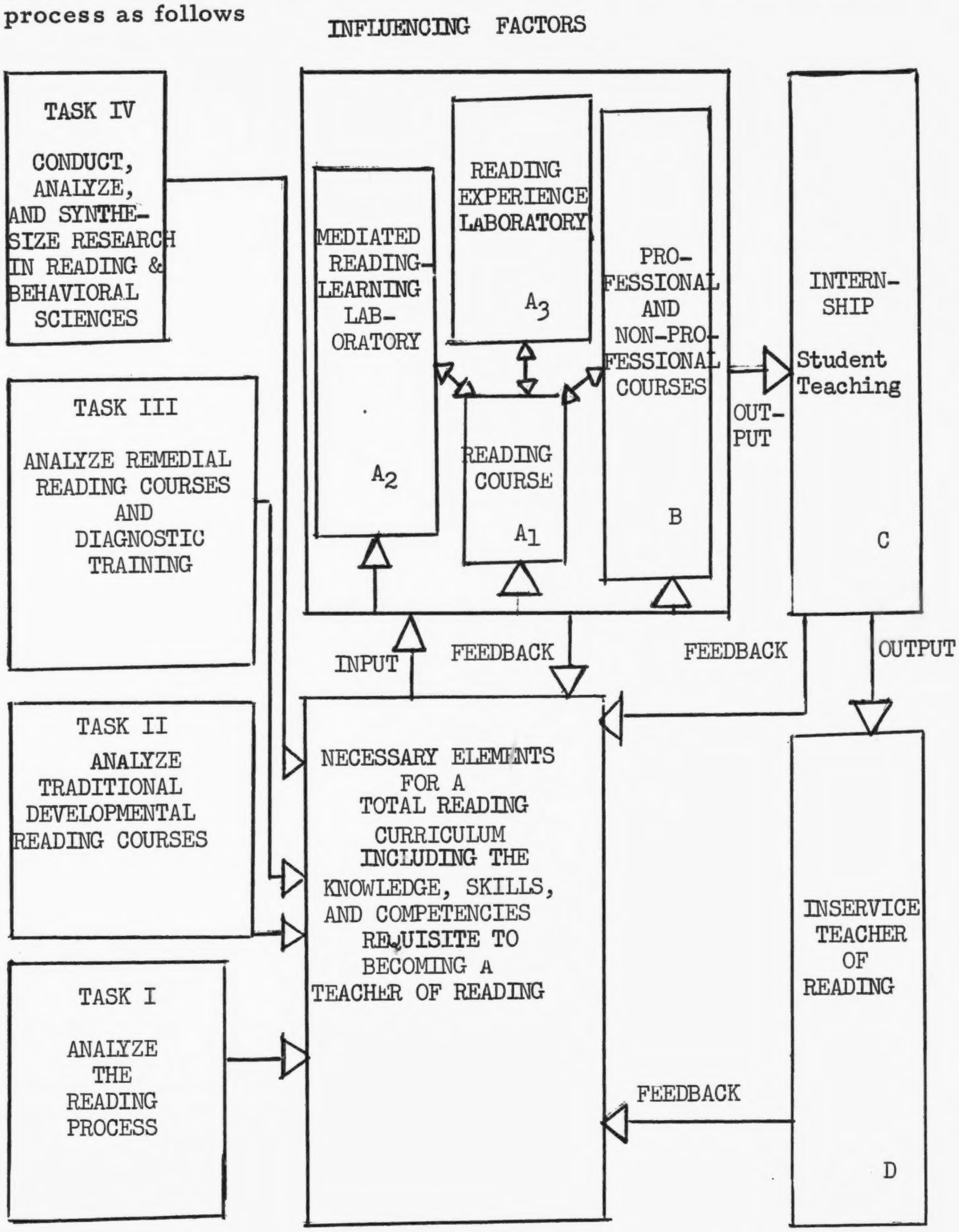
(3) He needs to be able to utilize a variety of approaches to, and vehicles of, instruction.

If he is to learn these three arts, he has to learn them somewhere in his college program, -- in his General Education program, his Professional Education program or his Specialized Program (See Model I, figure A, next page). However, a teacher education program in Higher Education should be evaluated -- as should any other program at the college and university level (Figure B). If the evaluation suggests that the program be altered, it should be, and some programs can be terminated through the employment of an evaluation scheme. In most professions -- and particularly in the education of teachers -- the candidate for the profession is also trained through an internship which is also a kind of form of evaluation of the training program and can suggest how the program be modified (Figure C). Finally, what the teacher does in the field -- his or her success or failure -- may also provide an 'evaluation' of the program (Figure D). Superior programs take advantage of all three sorts of feedback and evaluation -- direct evaluation, the 'success' of the intern as a measure of a program's quality, and the success of the in-service teacher.


THE ELEMENTS OF
HIGHER EDUCATION
GENERAL
PROFESSIONAL
SPECIALIZED
Figure A
INPUT
FEED
BACK
CURRICULUM
Figure B
OUTPUT
INTERNSHIP
pre-service
Figure C
FEEDBACK
OUTPUT
PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCY
in-service
Figure D
FEEDBACK

Model I

We then asked what ought to determine the curriculum in the field of specialization (i. e. Reading) to make a teacher a good teacher. We answered that an anlysis of (1) the reading process; (2) of undergraduate college programs in reading; (3) the needs of students who receive special diagnoses; and (4) the character of recent research ought to give us a sense of what the curriculum ought to be. We pictured the process as follows


INFLUENCING FACTORS
TASK IV
CONDUCT, ANALYZE, AND SYNTHESIZE RESEARCH IN READING & BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES
TASK III
ANALYZE REMEDIAL READING COURSES AND DIAGNOSTIC TRAINING
TASK II
ANALYZE TRADITIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL READING COURSES
TASK I
ANALYZE THE READING PROCESS
MEDIATED READING-LEARNING LABORATORY
A_2
READING EXPERIENCE LABORATORY
A_3
READING COURSE
A_1
PROFESSIONAL AND NON-PROFESSIONAL COURSES
B
OUTPUT
INTERNSHIP
Student Teaching
C
INPUT
FEEDBACK
FEEDBACK
OUTPUT
NECESSARY ELEMENTS FOR A TOTAL READING CURRICULUM INCLUDING THE KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND COMPETENCIES REQUISITE TO BECOMING A TEACHER OF READING
INSERVICE TEACHER OF READING
D
FEEDBACK

Model II

Our analysis of the four 'task areas' listed above suggested that a 'curriculum' training the teacher-to-be which took account of what we have described thus far could not be a mere course. It would rather require a course, a mediated instructional laboratory, a reading experience lab and supporting courses of a professional and non-professional sort. The reading course depends upon a mediated learning laboratory where the student could independently gain proficiency in selected reading related areas; the supporting courses would be genuinely supporting, and the Reading teacher would not repeat the general material from those courses in his Reading course. Repetition is all too frequently the product of the failure of curricular dialogue in the university. And a Reading Experience laboratory (A3) would provide the teacher with individual and group experiences with children in live and simulated situations under the supervision of a scholar in reading. The mediated laboratory, the reading experience lab, and the supporting courses proposed here would each support the class in reading as the student was taking it.

Evaluation would determine the program's strength and the student's strength. Evaluation of the course work would allow the student to determine for himself how well he had assimulated basic concepts; of the reading-learning laboratory work, how well he had mastered specific areas of content related to reading; and evaluation of the 'reading experience' laboratory work, how well he could really find the right teaching strategy (or set the right learning environment) for *this particular child*.

The first-rate training program would follow the student in a meaningful way into his pre-service and in-service teaching work (Card D). Frequently, however, a college's control of, and influence over, the final phases of a teacher education program, if they exist at all, are placed in the hands of college supervisors of student teaching who are neither in close touch with the nature and content of the teacher education program nor in close touch with the elementary education curricula of the elementary school. It is at this juncture that many elaborate teacher training programs fail either because the program *has prepared* teachers for something *which does not exist* or, because the program *has failed to prepare* teachers for *what does exist*. Very close cooperation, even collaboration, must be developed between teacher education 'educators' and elementary school 'educators' if an elementary teacher training program is to have much relevance. It is for that reason that the final two parts of the proposed model (C and D) are so important. It should be noted, in the model, that 'cybernetic circles' exist at various levels. The program could be considered completed at any one of the three levels, but as each level is added, more feedback is provided. The additional feedback improves the self correcting nature of the program we propose as well as its self generating nature.

To find out what ought to be put in the modules of our hypothetical program, we then moved in a little closer to the reality of the schools and of reading. In order to carry out this task, we proceeded:

(1) To sample current textbooks in developmental and remedial reading, looking at their content and theories.

(2) To study Mary Austin's research, reported in the Torchlighter and First R, which ascertains: (a) what is taught in college reading courses; (b) what should receive more emphasis; and (c) what is going on at public school level.

(3) To determine other concerns of reading which may not have been thus far identified by looking, for example, at the Educational Index to Periodical Literature.

The content from these three sources was grouped into categories, and using these categories as topics, an opinionnaire concerning their individual importance and placement in a curriculum for teaching reading was constructed. The opinionnaire was given to twenty-six preservice teachers in their second week of a reading course at New York University, to fifty-four in-service teachers with advanced training in reading, and to twenty-five college instructors participating in the Tri-University Project. The results of the opinionnaire were programmed for computer analysis at the New York University research center, and the results are reported in the monograph An Analysis of An Opinionnaire Concerning Placement of Selected Elements of the Curriculum for the Education of Teachers of Reading.

The psychologists and educators questioned for the opinionnaire found, when asked to tackle the complex problem of defining reading, that reading depended greatly upon the child's cognitive level, his behavioral skills, his cultural background, and so on. They felt that reading involves many things: it is the development of a skill dependent upon cultural background; it is a neurological act, a thinking act, a visual act, a perceptual act, a psychological act; and it is an experience in language. Since reading is all of these things, the social sciences, the behavioral sciences (psychoanalysis, psychology, psycholinguistics, etc.), linguistics -- to name an important few disciplines -- a large number of disciplines must be considered in formulating a program of teaching reading. Thus, the teaching of teachers of reading will demand that the disciplines and Education work together in formulating a program, and that the teachers of reading be knowledgeable in the disciplines which we have mentioned.

The necessity for such an interdisciplinary approach raises serious questions about the undergraduate training of teachers, namely:

1. Does the college student, in-service teacher, or college instructor have the right to expect that the undergraduate elementary teacher education candidate, who will teach reading in the elementary school, have the background necessary to view reading in these different ways: neurologically, socially, culturally, experimentally, psychologically, perceptually, linguistically?

2. If they do, is it possible that the analysis, interpretation, translation and synthesis of material from contributing disciplines is too formidable a task for a single educator or reading scholar?

3. Does dealing with the total reading-related content suggest the need for a new breed of educator or team of educators?

4. Does the college need scholars from various disciplines to become interested in educators who are vitally interested in the related disciplines; or does the college need a team of scholars who are trained to assimilate, interpret and translate from all of the relevant disciplines to the science which studies teaching and education?

5. How are lines of communication to be opened between the educators and members of other disciplines to facilitate the education of the kind of teacher described?

6. How can a teacher education institution better plan and reorganize teacher education curriculums?

7. Are there additional methods of instruction available which can be employed to make teaching more effective than are now in use?

Although we may not be able to set up an ideal program which will give an answer to all these questions, if reading is to be effective, we must assume that courses may be created which could give us the answers which experience offers to such questions as these. What questions would arise if the 'disciplines' were to support the reading course? If Psychoanalysis were to? Psychology? Neuropsychology? Psycholinguistics? And how might the training in Higher Education and the training of children in schools change if these disciplines were brought in? And would our program itself take advantage of the insights of these disciplines?

Relating psychoanalysis and reading might raise these questions:

Can we remove college teachers and elementary teachers as evaluators? That is, can we depersonalize evaluation in order to facilitate the establishment of a scholar/student relationship which is non-punitive and non-seductive, so that communication between student and teacher can really take place and so that the criticism of one by the other can be done on a professional rather than a personal basis? (We think that our proposed program for upgrading the undergraduate program for teachers of reading allows for such communication to take place because evaluation in it is based on levels of competency which can be objectively determined and measured.)

Also from psychoanalysis: we held a discussion of the familiar Ashe experiments where stooges representing the establishment caused the unwary 'to think what they think others thought they should think' by insisting that truth is different from what the unwary had perceived it as being. And then we wondered, 'Are teacher training institutions, like the Ashe experiments, producing characters who cannot take a stand?' (Our proposed program seeks not a consensus, not conformity, but rather the ability to develop a defensible rationale to the solution of a problem.)

Relating psychology and reading might lead us to raise questions about the notion of matching 'teaching style' and 'learning styles.' We might find that if one method of learning or instruction does not work for a child, one would need to have available enough psychological insight to determine other instructional dimensions or instructional media which would mesh with his style of learning. (The end product of the proposed curricular program is a diagnostic teacher who can organize and conduct a reading program utilizing a variety of instructional approaches, methods, and media in teaching children to read.)

If we are to relate neuropsychology (or psycholinguistics) and reading, we might ask questions related to the insights of these fields which suggest that human behavior is directly related to perception, to the surroundings in which the individual is placed (sensory input). The individual is controlled, or he can be influenced, through the 'instructional intensity,' which he experiences. (In a mediated laboratory the teacher can control the student's perception by controlling intensity of what he experiences. Such control cannot be as easily accomplished through the traditional 'linear' methods of teaching.)

Psycholinguistics might also suggest what are the differences and the similarities existing among mental acts such as 'reading' and similar computer acts.

While we are suggesting a different curriculum and administrative structure for the training of the teacher of reading, we think that the models we have proposed may, by virtue of the new relationship which they propose between 'reading' and the disciplines which study phenomena which are components of the reading act, create a new understanding -- in teachers and teachers-to-be -- of what reading is. And the new relationship which we propose between the laboratories which we envisage and the public schools will prepare teachers to meet the real problems which are implicit in teaching children in the public schools to read.

Footnotes:

1. John W. Gardner, "National Goals in Education," in Goals for Americans. The report of the President's Commission on National Goals: New York, 1960, p. 8.

2. Gardner, p. 8.

APPENDIX A

Recommendations For Teacher Training Teachers Of Reading

by the Reading Committee of the Nebraska Project *

One conclusion which seems inescapable at present is that regardless of the method used for the initial teaching of reading, the most important variable is the teacher. The 'good' teacher seems to succeed in teaching most of her pupils to read. The burning question then is, What is a 'good' teacher? And what can teacher training institutions do to further the development of good teachers?

We often hear it said that good teachers are born and not made. If this were completely true, then the teacher training institutions are not only helpless but totally unnecessary. But even though we grant that there are certain qualities of personality that make one equally well-trained person a better teacher than another, it is impossible for us to conceive that teachers do not need to be trained -- in the knowledge of the discipline they will attempt to teach, and in the accumulated knowledge of how to teach which experienced teachers and researchers have accumulated through the ages.

Our deliberations for the past academic year, our perusal of research on reading, and the information passed on to us by numerous speakers and consultants to the project have led us to believe that there are certain reasonably well-defined areas of knowledge that should be made available to the potential teacher of reading in the elementary school. We have not attempted to spell out an exact curriculum for an undergraduate teacher-training program. This would be impossible for several reasons, most importantly that state certification programs already control a large proportion of the curriculum requirements in any given institution. Another limitation upon the implementation of the suggestions we have to offer is the availability of staff.

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While the group as a whole concurs in the belief that teachers should be educated in the areas which we list, we feel that we must leave it up to the individual institution to decide how they may best meet the needs of teachers within the framework of their state, institutional, and budgetary requirements.

1) We believe that the prospective teacher of reading must have an adequate understanding of the nature and structure of language in general and the English language in particular.

This is a rather strong statement to make since the simple fact is that most teachers of reading in this country today know little or nothing about language and the structure of English. But with the onslaught of new methods, materials, media, and even theories about reading, it is becoming more and more necessary for the teacher to have such knowledge. Few, if any, of the opponents of the recently developed 'linguistic' methods of teaching reading would go so far as to deny that linguists have contributed significantly to our understanding of the language and of the writing system and that such knowledge would not aid no matter what method she used.

2) The teacher needs to know about different types of writing systems and about the structure of the English orthography. Lack of such knowledge and the concomitant confusion that reigns in the minds of most teachers (and the laity in general) about the relationship between writing and language, has caused problems in the teaching of reading and will frustrate any method which is based upon a scientific view of this relationship.

It may be well to note here that although this report is primarily concerned with the teaching of reading, that the knowledge that we suggest is necessary for the teacher of reading also is highly relevant to the teaching of spelling and writing skills in general.

3) The teacher needs to know how children learn, and specifically how they learn to read.

Here again the research evidence is not as rich nor as conclusive as we would hope. But steps are being taken to answer this very vital question. And many of the newer theories about language acquisition which may be relevant to learning to read as well are so new (within the last ten years or so) that they have not filtered down into the typical undergraduate course in the psychology of education. A course in psychology of education should include some information about the relationship between learning theories and learning to read. It is noteworthy in this regard that for the first time in its history, the national convention of the International Reading Association held a pre-convention institute in "Psycholinguistics and Reading." Some long-ignored questions are at least beginning to be asked, and the teacher will profit by being made aware of this research.

4) A number of our speakers and consultants this year (Kohl, McDavid, Bailey) and a number of speakers at the psycholinguistics institute referred to above (Goodman, Shuy, Nussbaum) have stressed the importance of the teacher's understanding of dialect and its possible relationship to reading instruction. While it might be assumed that an understanding of dialect would come from an understanding of the nature and structure of language in general, this area is so sensitive and so loaded with affective judgment that it deserves special emphasis in teacher training. Everyone speaks a dialect. And it is difficult to conceive of a classroom anywhere in America where teacher and pupil speak a completely uniform variety of English.

Strickland has made an analysis of the syntax of beginning reading texts versus the syntax of the children utilizing those texts and shown the tremendous divergence between the two. The studies of Labov, Shuy, and Stewart of ghetto speech (particularly morphological and syntactical elements) and of Bailey and others of the phonology and morphology of deep south Negroes -- all point up the problems that arise when the language of instruction deviates markedly from the language which the pupil brings to school with him. This problem, pedagogically speaking, is far from solved, and recommendations vary even among the group of linguists most closely allied with the study of the problem. But at the very least the teacher must be made aware of the problem. There are some known errors which she can be taught to avoid.

Summary

The thirteen elementary school teachers who made up one of the groups in the double practicum of the Tri-University Project at Nebraska are by the very fact that they were selected for this program, good teachers. They come from all parts of the country and represent anywhere from two to 18 years of experience. They were all graduated from an accredited college and have met state certification requirements. Most of them have had some graduate work in education and three had masters' degrees. They may not be a random sample, but their knowledge of teacher-training programs as they have been typically patterned in the past, and their acquaintance with a large number of teachers scattered throughout the country would seem to give their evaluation considerable credence. It was their unanimous opinion that, at least up until very recently, most of the teachers they came in contact with

1) lack any sort of adequate preparation in linguistics in general.

2) are unacquainted with more than one or two 'methods' of teaching reading. Usually they were taught one method in their undergraduate reading methods course, and may have had to learn something about a new method which was introduced into their school system through a one or two day 'workshop' conducted through the auspices of the publishers,

3) have either not had a course in education psychology, or if they have had one it was almost always completely behavioristically oriented and/or statistical in nature and never addressed itself to the newer research and theories about language acquisition and possible implications for the teaching of reading.

4) lack proper understanding of dialect and are generally prescriptive in their views of language and usage,

5) lack any clear-cut set of criteria for evaluating reading materials and methods.

Perhaps this last item is the most important lack of all, since in one sense it may encompass all of the rest.

In our present state of knowledge no one theory, no one method, no one technique, no one orthography has been proven superior to all others for teaching any or all children to read.

Teachers, as professionals, would like to have the certainty that a doctor has when he graduates from medical school that there is one proven best method for performing an appendectomy, one classic drug for treatment of malaria, one diagnostic instrument for determining pregnancy or diabetes.

We would like to be able to give teachers a prescription for teaching all children to read in 36 easy lessons, and for diagnosing all reading illnesses. But we can't. What we can do and what we must do to improve reading instruction in our schools is to provide teachers with the kind of background knowledge about the language, the writing system, and the psychology of reading -- in its present tentative state, so that each teacher will be able to critically evaluate her pupils and the materials at her disposal for the teaching of reading. We do believe that even though we do not have all the answers that we are beginning to ask the right questions. And we also believe that the properly educated teacher can at least avoid making many errors which have been perpetuated in the past simply because 'that's the way we always did it.' At least the simple avoidance of known error is some sort of progress.

The Disciplines and Education: the Social Sciences

James Hills, Jack Sheridan, and Roger Zimmerman

The discussion which follows was used as the basis for a discussion in Salt Lake City. The proposals which are set down here cover a very difficult area, for the social sciences have traditionally been very superficially treated in the Elementary School and people in the social science disciplines have had little care for the training of elementary teachers. Moreover, the fact that the study of society in the elementary school covers a range of 'departmental' or 'discipline' groupings in Higher Education has meant that the responsibility for the failure of the academic departments to do the job of telling elementary teachers what societies are or what they have been is a responsibility which is hard to fix. The striking thing about the Hills-Sheridan-Zimmerman proposals is that they are honest; they would imply rigorous training; and most of them seem to be practical enough to allow any institution which really wants to implement them to do so.

Contributions College and University Departments Can Make To More Effective Teacher Education in Social Studies For The Elementary School

James Hills

Jack Sheridan

Roger Zimmerman

Many students aspiring to become elementary school teachers find themselves taking courses in the social sciences at the same time as they are taking their social studies methods courses. It is easy to imagine such a student enrolled in a Geography course and a 'Methods' class, studying in the library one afternoon. It is just possible that he reads the two passages which follow as he prepares for his 'Geography' class and his 'Methods' class:

I

> The cultivation of rice is one of the distinguishing traits of several Oriental cultures. The first cultivation of rice was probably carried out on hilly land outside of the river floodplains in Burma and Thailand. In those countries today there are hundreds of varieties of rice, each especially suited to particular combinations of slope, soil, and drainage. Later the technique of controlling the water of river valleys and growing paddy rice on the floodplains was perfected. The different cultures of South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia are all built around the cultivation of rice; for not only does this crop furnish a very large part of the food supply, but the labor of producing it takes up a large part of the working hours of the Oriental peoples, and customs associated with rice are found in the religious ceremonies and in the idiomatic phrases of the language.[1]

II

> The scope of recently developed programs has been more frequently defined in terms of subjects, themes, generalizations, and social functions (basic human activities) than in terms of needs, problems, and life situations. This trend is in line with the current emphasis on using the social sciences as the major source

> of social studies content. Attention may also be given to crucial problems, needs, and significant life situations but this is usually done within the over-all framework of the social studies.[2]

Although these passages and the chapters of which they are a part can be read close together in time, the student may think of them as quite separate from each other, as being unrelated. He is more apt to think in terms of (1) acquiring specific information about Oriental rice cultures and (2) learning about organizing instruction in the social studies. No thought may be given to the considering of curricular possibilities, which are implicit in the content and method discussed in his readings. Likewise, his instructors may not encourage him or give him time to consider such possibilities.

Here is an example of a dichotomy that commonly exists between courses in the social science departments and the classes in Social Science Education required of students in a teacher education program. Many of the concepts and generalizations a student may read of in his social science course work are also a part of present elementary school social studies programs; yet, usually no provision is made in the class in one of the disciplines comprising the social sciences for helping students plan how they might develop the concepts and generalizations which they are studying in college in an elementary classroom.

Efforts to resolve this situation and pave the way for improved social studies instruction can not be left entirely to the methods class or to the Education department. Social science departments can make a contribution toward more effective teacher education in the elementary school social studies. In the following pages, we have made an attempt to show how college and university departments might share the responsibility of better social studies instruction and so improve teacher education. Using a specific format, the first part of this paper deals with direct contributions the departments can make. The second part relates some more indirect contributions. (The issues formulated in this paper were discussed by the deans and chairmen who attended at Salt Lake City. Their responses to the issues formulated by the Washington group are included in the pages which follow.)

Problem I.

The Setting. Undergraduate students at institutions of higher learning are commonly required to take a number of courses from the separate disciplines making up the social sciences--often in a prescribed sequence called general education. Other undergraduate students major in one or another of the social sciences.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. Elementary teacher education departments are faced with the arrival of many students from the setting described above, declaring a desire to teach in the elementary school.

a. Their "social science" courses often, if not usually, have been taught with little or no attention to pointing up the organizing concepts of the discipline(s), without focus on the methods of the scholars who work in the disciplines, and without the disclosure to the college students of the heuristic questions which are second nature to good scholars as they attack potential sources of new information and knowledge.

b. These students often have neither worked with students of elementary age, nor visited an elementary classroom since their own experience in elementary schools.

A Proposed Solution. Revamp the social sciences courses to include the organizing concepts, the methodology of the disciplines, and the analytical questions used by scholars. In addition, provide prospective teachers with the opportunities for (elective) individual study, parallel to and concurrent with the courses taken in the social science disciplines.

a. The individual study should be conducted by a team made up of the professor teaching the social science sourse in question and a specialist in elementary methods.

b. The individual study should provide the prospective teacher with the opportunity to translate the content of the social science course into learning experiences appropriate to elementary school pupils. The prospective teacher should be able to try these out in an elementary classroom, as a part of the study.

c. The team should supervise this elementary school experience, helping the prospective teacher to analyze the suitability of the content and methods and the effectiveness of the instruction.

Advantages

a. The social science learnings will be heightened.

b. Prospective teachers will profit from early, brief, first-hand experiences in teaching elementary pupils.

c. The accumulation of many such experiences over the college years will afford better assimilation of the content and processes than current programs permit.

d. Students who come to doubt either their interest in teaching or their aptitude for the role can make other occupational choices without the severe penalties incurred under the present system.

Disadvantages

a. The program requires that team members work together compatibly. Not all faculty members will meet this criterion, and not all will wish to teach in this way.

b. Proliferation of elective units in individual study may result.

c. A large program would "use up" many elementary classes; hence, coordination with some school districts may be difficult.

d. The allocation of faculty time to individual study units may create staffing shortages.

Problem I: Discussion

Many of the discussants agreed that many students who aspire to a career in teaching in the elementary school do not understand how questions are asked and answered by scholars in the sciences which study society: Anthropology, Sociology, Geography and so forth. However, the discussants also suggested that any effort to represent what scholars in the disciplines have discovered as to the interrelationships existent among the phenomena which they study which ignored how those interrelationships were discovered--any study which did not ask the student to do practical field research--might well become boring and irrelevant in the training of a teacher. We suggested that the social sciences do have 'structure,' do possess a body of organized theory. We also accepted the notion that the teacher-to-be should be taught a version of 'what the discipline knows' like that taught the general liberal arts student but that he should also have concurrent practicum experiences which allow him to test the classroom applicability of what he learns.

Problem II.

The Setting. Large numbers of teachers return to institutions of higher learning each year for coursework which will lead to salary increments. Traditionally they enroll in Education courses, although many of them have no advanced degree goal.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. The nature of the elementary school social studies program requires teachers with an inter-disciplinary background in the social sciences. Teachers need to take an inter-disciplinary approach to the teaching of social studies. Many of them recognize this need and would prefer to build the necessary background, were there the opportunity. The traditional courses, discipline by discipline, do not permit this.

Proposed Solutions. The practical nature of workshops has always appealed to elementary school teachers.

a. Provide for experienced teachers a 3-4 unit workshop-type course which will focus on an area-study taught by a team whose members represent different social science disciplines. for example, the first year might focus on Latin America, the second year on Africa, the third year on the Far East, etc.

    (1) Build the teams to include both interdisciplinary-social science faculty and social studies methods people.

    (2) Provide for the methods person to help with the translation of the social science content into elementary curriculum experiences appropriate to specified grade levels.

    (3) Arrange for the full team to participate, with the roles shifting. The social science people will provide depth experiences in content, while the methods person plans ways to use the content. Then the methods person will provide direction for the curriculum experiences, while the social science people serve as resource people and consultants.

Advantages

a. The arrangement provides an intellectually stimulating experience with content-in-depth.

b. The interdisciplinary approach will serve as a model for melding the disciplines.

c. Teachers are given an opportunity to work with organizing principles and data-gathering approaches employed by social scientists.

d. The practical nature of the experience will encourage teachers to put their learning to immediate use.

Disadvantages

a. A team approach will require provision for extensive preparation time as a part of the faculty load.

b. Problems of compatibility in a situation of rotating leadership will discourage participation by some faculty members.

c. The demands on "Education" faculty may exceed their capacity to respond unless some traditional offerings are curtailed.

b. Provide for experienced teachers a two-semester extension course with an emphasis on social science content, social studies methods, and learning theory. Such a course can deal with content across the grade levels or, if need indicates, at a single grade level. Assign an instructional team of two or three people who will plan together, allocate responsibilities, and undertake instruction.

Advantages

a. Content background, methods and learning theory are presented as an organic whole.

b. The continuity over two semesters affords time for students to try out their ideas, change their ways of doing things, and secure feedback.

c. The extended time will allow instructors to provide models, give guidance and support, and evaluate applications to specific situations.

Disadvantages

a. Not all faculty have the competencies and flexibility to work under such arrangements.

b. Districts served will often be required to bear the additional costs.

c. The planning time required increases geometrically with the number of instructors.

Problem II: Discussion

We looked at the Washington group's proposal for an interdisciplinary in-service workshop, and we said, "How can we get teachers to do interdisciplinary teaching?" We favored Washington's proposal for a workshop over its extension course proposal, and welcomed its suggestion that in-service programs develop an interdisciplinary approach to area studies.

Problem III.

The Setting. Large numbers of undergraduate students who aspire to teach in the elementary schools take majors in Elementary Education and/or a major or minor(s) in a single social science discipline such as History.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. The elementary school social studies program anticipated in the 1970's indicates strongly the need for teachers who have a facility for working across the social science disciplines as they explore specific content areas with their students. They need to integrate the contributions of Anthropology, Sociology, Geography, Economics, Politcial Science, and History in the study of any people. This need includes a preparation which has provided them with the organizing principles and concepts, some of the methods and skills used by competent scholars, and the analytical questions employed by scholars in their search for reliable knowledge.

Proposed Solutions. Disestablish the notion that every student must concentrate in depth on a single discipline.

a. Provide truly interdisciplinary majors and minors in the social sciences. These should not be conceived of as courses exclusively for the preparation of teachers. They should be open to all students who desire a broad experience which will both prepare them and allow them to continue their social science education through individual study.

b. Reorganize lower division social science courses required of all students (often called general education courses) in such a way as to make them interdisciplinary in their focus, sequential, and cumulative in ideas, concepts, and principles.

c. Reorganize the courses offered to meet requirements regarding U.S. History, the Constitution, and state and local government so that they become an interdisciplinary study of American people and their institutions.

d. Combine 1 - 3 above in order to allow students to focus on both the Western World and the non-Western World in depth via a study of a "modern" nation and an "emerging" nation in each by means of an interdisciplinary approach.

e. Provide for one-fourth to one-third of the units of each major in the social sciences to be elective across the social science disciplines as well as concentrated in a single other discipline.

Advantages

a. The recommended changes will not require lengthening student programs.

b. There need be no proliferation of courses.

c. No additional staff will be required.

d. Each alternative will better meet the needs of social studies teachers of the '70's.

e. The greater relevance will appeal to present day students.

Disadvantages

a. The new course structure may require that some faculty members revise their approaches to teaching.

b. Faculty who are narrowly oriented to their own disciplines may be resistant to change.

c. Revisions in course outlines and catalogs will be necessary.

Problem III: Discussion

Some members of our group urged that it is not a good idea to disestablish the notion that the elementary teacher-to-be should concentrate his work and take in-depth studies in a single discipline, perhaps an undergraduate major. Our group also urged -- based on past experience -- that interdisciplinary courses are usually poorly taught. Modern college and university staff are encouraged to specialize and are given massive rewards for knowing a little area infinitely well. Interdisciplinary work is not for them.

We did agree that elementary teachers-to-be should receive good training in the history and culture of the emerging nations. America does not yet have men competent to offer such training in most of her colleges.

Problem IV:

The Setting. Curricula for particular courses are generally developed within a department. These may be submitted to a college curriculum committee for approval. Other than this, the separate departments do not ordinarily exert an effort to learn what others are teaching or to relate their offerings to the material taught in other departments. Seldom are individuals from outside the department involved in curriculum construction.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. Much of what occurs in an educational methods course is dependent upon what has previously transpired in subject matter courses. For example, the knowledge of the social sciences that students bring with them will affect the manner in which the social studies methods teacher operates. All too often the methods teacher lacks any organized knowledge of the subject matter courses which his students have taken.

It would also be well if the subject matter specialist knew more of what was expected of his students when they entered the teaching methods course in his field. It is not expected that he will tailor his course just for pre-service teachers. However, in many instances as many as one-half of his students will be Education majors. It would seem appropriate that he be informed about the methods course in teaching his specialty. More than that, the subject matter specialist could probably contribute measurably to the development of a curriculum for that course.

A Proposed Solution. Professors from the social sciences and Education professors concerned with the Social Studies methods course would serve on a committee charged with developing a curriculum for the methods course and a curriculum for the freshman level courses in the social sciences. Another committee composed of a similar combination of people might be concerned with the development of major and minor programs for undergraduate students.

Final authority would rest with the disciplines in the development of the freshman level courses. Education personnel would have final authority in the development of the methods course curriculum (perhaps this should be reversed -- it would make them listen to one another a little more closely). In such a situation the professional educators might profit from learning more about what the discipline professors feel is of most importance in their fields and how they think it should be taught. The professional educators could assist in the development of the basic undergraduate courses with their knowledge of methodology. In addition, they would present the viewpoint of a generalist rather than a specialist. This is sometimes needed, for many of the students in these classes are non-majors. Essential to all of this is administrative support through reduced teaching loads for the people involved.

Advantages.

a. Communication and cooperation between education and subject matter areas should be increased considerably.

b. New information and insights would be brought to curriculum development.

Disadvantages.

a. Some faculty may not wish to participate.

b. This requires groups of professors to work closely in situations which involve compromise and conciliation. Some faculty members may lack this ability.

c. Cost will increase as teaching loads are reduced and more faculty are needed.

Problem IV: Discussion

Group IV had some feeling of reservation about the possibility of planning special courses in the disciplines at the "General Education" level which would be particularly relevant to elementary teachers. The argument was, "We have many clienteles to serve". The concern of the group turned to the whole task of 'individualizing instruction' for the college student, giving him what he has not had and what he sees as meaningful to his career, his conduct or whatever. Some schools do have academic councils made up of representatives of Education and the disciplines who are working toward the solutions proposed by the Washington group in its Problem IV discussion.

Problem V:

The Setting. During their college career students study with many professors in several different departments. The primary responsibility for combining the results of these varied experiences into a workable synthesis rests upon the students. Separate departments do not ordinarily exert great effort to learn what others are teaching or to relate their offerings to the material taught in other areas.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. Professors of educational methods often lack full knowledge of the subject matter background of their students. In addition, the students often lack the ability to translate their knowledge of subject matter into activities for youngsters.

Proposed Solutions.

a. Professors of educational methods and professors of related academic disciplines could exchange course syllabi. For example, a professor of social studies methods would exchange syllabi with the professors of social science courses which are prerequisites of the methods course.

Advantages.

a. Professors of education and the social science professors would have opportunity to learn what the other is trying to accomplish.

b. Methods teachers would have a better knowledge of the base upon which they have to build.

c. This is relatively easy. It requires little or no extra time or effort for the people involved.

Disadvantages.

a. A syllabus on paper may be far different from the course as actually taught.

b. It is too easy to file an outline and never look at it again.

c. There is no follow up.

d. There is little or no face to face communication.

e. Some faculty members may be defensive and prefer not to participate.

Proposed Solutions.

b. In addition to the exchange of syllabi, there might be an exchange of classroom visits between professors of education and the disciplines. As with the exchange of syllabi, this would not be indiscriminate visiting. The visits would take place between professors with classes which are related.

Advantages.

a. Advantages one and two of Proposed Solutions (a) would prevail and be enhanced by classroom visits.

b. Face to face communication would exist.

Disadvantages.

a. Professors would be hard pressed to teach a full load and then visit other classes.

b. This solution may create more defensive behavior on the part of the professors than the exchange of syllabi.

c. A limited number of visits may give a biased view of what is actually happening.

Proposed Solutions.

c. Qualified professors could be appointed to both an academic department and an educational department. For example, a person might teach a freshman social science course and the social studies methods course. This appointment would probably work best if the academic portion of the teaching load included freshman or sophomore level courses rather than more specialized junior and senior courses.

Advantages.

a. A continuing communication link is formed between a discipline and the education course which deals with the teaching of that discipline.

b. Education majors would learn their methods from a person with a strong subject matter background.

Disadvantages.

a. It may be difficult to find people interested and/or trained to act in the dual capacity.

b. The individual so appointed may find himself isolated from both departments.

Problem V: Discussion

The group which discussed problem V plunked for:

(1) Joint appointments between Elementary Education and the social science disciplines.

(2) Clinical schools which get teachers-to-be into elementary schools early in their careers and which permit them to see what subject matter work is relevant. The 'clinical professor' might receive a joint appointment.

Group V also suggested that joint appointments between Education and the disciplines might encourage Higher Education to look at its instructional procedures.

Problem VI:
The Setting. Students generally leave the confines of the college campus for their student teaching or intern experience. They may be within a few blocks of the campus, or they may be hundreds of miles away.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. Isolated from the college student teachers face the reality of an actual teaching situation. They obtain assistance from their classroom supervisor and a college supervisor. Often, however, they would like assistance from specialists in subject matter areas in which their supervisors are not well trained.

A Proposed Solution. One day each quarter or semester the student teachers would return to campus. A schedule would be arranged so representatives from various departments would be available to meet with these student teachers during at least one period in the day. It would be best to schedule these periods throughout the day so student teachers would have the opportunity to visit with several different departments if necessary. In these meetings the student could seek help in meeting the specialized problems he has encountered in his teaching.

It might be best if the student teachers sent in their questions and problems in advance. This would give professors an opportunity to prepare suggestions and locate materials.

A similar session could be held with first year teachers in late October or November.

Advantages.

a. Student teachers needing help in specialized areas such as Anthropology, Economics, Political Science, and Sociology would have opportunity to meet with specialists from these fields.

b. College teachers would learn first hand of the problems faced by their students when they have to translate what they have learned in college to a public or private school setting.

c. The confrontation with reality could lead to improved college courses, designed to better meet these problems.

d. Better relations with public and private schools may develop as student teachers better face and overcome their problems.

Disadvantages.

a. Some schools don't want to release the student teacher.

b. One day or one period may not be long enough. To obtain more time than this would be difficult.

c. College professors may not care to participate.

d. College professors may have a difficulty finding time to participate because of conflicts with their regular teaching loads.

Problem VI: Discussion

The reaction group for Problem VI reported a number of additional ways of solving the problem of getting specialist help to student teachers in off-campus settings:

a. Have the professors (social science specialists) visit the student teachers and cooperating or supervising teachers.

b. Provide, for student teaching, centers in which the above would be facilitated.

c. Assign several (3-4) student teachers to one master teacher instead of making assignments on a 1-1 basis. Provide seminars where the master teachers, student teachers, and college professors could take up problems together.

d. Bring student teachers back to campus for one week during the student teaching period to meet with representatives of all academic departments in a series of seminars.

e. Provide greater opportunity for short-term instructional opportunities while the students are on campus prior to student teaching.

f. Face up to the question: Are we preparing elementary teachers to be specialists or generalists?

g. Consider using specialists in the role of supervising elementary teachers. Does he really have to be equally competent in content, elementary methodology, child development, and school organization and administration?

h. Emphasize content and methodology in the program. Integrate the two aspects and provide for maximum cooperation between the academicians and the educators.

Problem VII:

The Setting. Student teachers and interns generally receive some supervision from their colleges. In most cases the supervisor is from the School of Education. He may be a full time supervisor or a teacher of education courses in addition to his supervisor duties. Frequently these supervisors observe student teachers at a number of grade levels and teaching a wide variety of subjects.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. Under the above conditions, the college supervisor often is unprepared to provide assistance for student teachers faced with problems related to the teaching of particular social science disciplines.

A Proposed Solution. A professor from a discipline might accompany the regular student teaching supervisor upon the request of either, or the request of the student teacher. This professor would act in an advisory capacity. Should a difference of opinion arise concerning the manner in which to handle a situation, the student teacher cannot be put in the impossible situation of being responsible to two, or perhaps three supervisors, each with a different solution for his problem.

Advantages.

a. The student teacher would have opportunity to receive subject matter background and insight when and where he needs it most.

b. The subject matter specialist would have first hand opportunities to learn of the problems of teaching his specialty in elementary and secondary schools.

c. There would be considerable face to face communication between professional educators and the subject matter specialists.

Disadvantages.

a. It may be difficult to find subject matter specialists interested in visiting classrooms.

b. Reduced teaching loads may be necessary to provide time for the classroom visits by the professors from the disciplines.

c. The more people involved in supervision of a student teacher the greater is the chance for differences of opinion and controversy.

Problem VII: Discussion

Initially, the group appointed to discuss idea VII reacted negatively to the proposed solution for the problem of providing adequate assistance to student teachers faced with problems related to the teaching of particular social science disciplines. They indicated that implementing the idea would be too expensive and would "sub-divide" the student just as we are doing currently. The concern was expressed that piecemeal visits by a professor from a discipline would be next to useless. The supervising teacher remains the crucial factor.

This last point led to a focus on the idea of having subject matter specialists spend more time working directly with supervising teachers. The teacher would then be more able to help student teachers having subject matter problems. The college professor would remain available to visit the classroom, but only if his purpose and function for visiting are carefully defined.

Problem VIII:

The Setting. Each summer large numbers of teachers return to college campuses to enroll in workshops that supposedly will help them implement ideas or new approaches. In addition, many such workshops are offered in local school district settings or are co-sponsored jointly by participating districts.

The Problem. Too often change in teacher behavior does not follow close upon the offering of a workshop.

a. Teachers complain that it is difficult to apply workshop ideas and materials in their particular setting or classroom.

b. Teachers find it difficult to go beyond what was demonstrated in the workshop setting.

c. Some teachers feel a need for additional support and more specific ideas as they implement a new idea or approach.

A Proposed Solution. Provide a course (2-4 units) that will follow the workshop and that will be given over a period of time during the school year. The same instructor(s) would be involved. The main purpose of the class would be to help teachers fully implement ideas and materials developed in the preceding workshop. For example, a late summer, one week workshop given in "Developing Inductive Approaches for Teaching the Social Studies" could be followed by a course of the same or similar title. This class could be given every other Saturday during September, October, and November. It is during the class time that additional focus on the approaches could be given and teachers could receive specific help regarding expressed problems. Evaluation of the teachers could occur later when the instructor observes each teacher in action in her classroom.

Advantages.

a. As indicated, the instructor would have more time to give additional focus, broaden understandings, and develop new insights.

b. The teachers would have more time to express concerns and problems.

c. More time could be given to helping teachers plan and develop solutions to specific problems.

d. Time could be given to a teacher exchange of ideas and materials.

e. Direct support can be given to ideas expressed by teachers.

Disadvantages.

a. Following a workshop given on a college campus, the teachers return to positions over a large area (often several states). This makes it extremely difficult for a class to be given.

b. Often times the workshop instructor is from another area or state and it is physically impossible for him to follow up with a class.

Problem VIII: Discussion

"The proposal might work." This statement appears to be the major idea expressed by those whose task was to react to the solution for Problem VIII. Their idea seems to have evolved partly from agreement over the fact that the problem does exist.

Additions to the proposed solution were not drastic changes, but rather suggestions for improving the in-service notion expressed in the solution. It was emphasized that teachers be given released time and additional pay to attend in-service programs. If principals were to become more aware of the in-service experiences of their staff members, they could perhaps more ably help in the implementation of new ideas. Perhaps much is up to the college instructor. Motivating teachers to change their attitudes becomes a crucial task.

Problem IX:

The Setting. Each year colleges across the land send thousands of students into the public and private schools, first for a student teaching or intern experience and then as first year teachers.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. Public and private school personnel are first hand observers of beginning student teachers and first year teachers. They are probably in the best position to evaluate the competency of these beginning teachers to face and overcome the real problems of teaching. However, communication between this group and teacher education institutions is often at best only informal and fragmented. Professors involved in the education of teachers seldom hear first hand reports of the performance of their students.

A Proposed Solution. Representatives from the public and private schools, professional education, and the various disciplines should meet to discuss the competencies required of student teachers and beginning teachers. They should also discuss the competency of present graduates of the teacher education institution. This meeting could be conducted in an afternoon and an evening. It would be better perhaps to conduct it during the day if participants can be freed from their regular duties. A week workshop in the summer might be another possibility.

Advantages.

a. Communications between all parties should be improved.

b. Discussions of this nature would provide the professors of academic disciplines with direct feedback concerning the strengths and weaknesses of their students when faced with the practical problems of teaching.

c. The same feedback would be available for professors of Education.

d. Any changes undertaken by the college could be guided by this feedback.

e. Public school personnel would gain a better understanding of the problems and the goals of the college.

Disadvantages.

a. It may be difficult to obtain released time for these meetings, especially for the school teachers.

b. It is possible for these meetings to develop into a fight in which each group blames the others for the problems which exist.

c. Some departments are unconcerned with teacher preparation and may not send a representative to a meeting of this nature.

Problem IX: Discussion

The brief notes from this group suggest that only interested representatives from the disciplines meet with school officials and experienced teachers to discuss competencies of beginning teachers. A step in this direction might be made if district administrators and teachers began inviting social science professors to visit the elementary schools. Then professors might be given released time to participate. Perhaps video tapes of elementary teachers in action might help interested professors evaluate teacher competencies and the effectiveness of college courses.

Problem X:

The Setting. All too often there is little concerted effort on the part of individuals or the institution to improve teaching at the college level. Individual professors are likely to exert great effort to gain increased knowledge and skill in a field of special interest, but little or no effort to improve their ability to help students learn about this field. College professors range from very strong to very weak in teaching ability. Since so little effort is spent upon improving teaching ability, and because the material rewards for doing so are few, low quality instruction is perpetuated. Even those people who are by nature rather good teachers could probably improve, but under present conditions they are not encouraged to do so.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. Because of the lack of attention given to improving teaching in colleges, the pre-service teacher is exposed to considerable poor teaching during his college career. This may produce at least two damaging effects. First, the pre-service teacher simply does not become well informed about the social sciences. Second, because beginning teachers tend to teach as they were taught, the pre-service teacher often begins student teaching lacking effective skills in teaching and possessing habits and techniques which hinder learning.

A Proposed Solution. A college wide effort should be made to upgrade teaching. Representatives from all areas of the college or university (social sciences, sciences, English, etc.,) could form a committee for the improvement of instruction. Their charge would be to provide college instructors with useful information for planning better teaching. This committee might give special attention to (1) keeping the faculty informed about the rapid developments in technology as it applies to instruction; and (2) new developments in the psychology of learning as they apply to teaching college students. This approach would not directly change or improve teacher education. However, with improved college teaching we might anticipate better educated college graduates. And since teachers tend to teach as they were taught, improved instruction in college courses might lead to better teaching in elementary and secondary schools.

Advantages.

a. The entire college or university is involved.

b. Communication is increased between the departments.

c. Improved instruction for all students is possible.

d. There is likely to be improved instruction for students preparing to teach, resulting in student teachers and first year teachers better prepared to handle their new responsibilities.

Disadvantages.

a. This approach is concerned with the improvement of college instruction. It applies only indirectly to improving teacher education.

b. One representative from each department makes for a very large committee.

c. If every department is not represented it is unlikely that all instructors will be reached.

d. The responsibility and authority of the committee must be well defined or conflicts may result.

e. This could involve a considerable amount of time. For example, a continuing seminar might be developed. Many professors may not wish to give this much time.

Problem X: Discussion

Instead of considering the committee proposal, the group presented other suggestions. It would appear that this discussion group rejected the solution proposed. The group instead discussed the following practices:

a. At one institution, new instructors are observed by their department head. A follow-up conference is held to discuss the teaching observed.

b. At another institution, new professors are assigned to senior professors who assist them in planning courses.

c. Many Ph. D. programs include internships and the study of teaching. (The recorder noted the program at Purdue.)

d. Some universities plan meetings or workshops to improve instruction.

e. At one university, a service bureau aids professors in analysis of their tests.

f. One professor proposed the presentation of video tapes of outstanding teachers at faculty meetings.

A major issue appeared in this group discussion: Should we expect good teaching in the university?

Some members of the group held the view that a university expects professors to have varied interests and competencies. These participants seemed to feel that students should come to college with attitudes and skills which will enable them to learn independently. Teaching styles vary and what "turns one student on" may not excite another. Several questioned the assumption that future teachers need models who demonstrate good teaching.

Other members of the group expressed the view that a professor "teaching" a class should be concerned with the student's learning. Students should expect effective teaching in all their classes. It may be good to be exposed to the researcher who is not concerned with "teaching", but in most cases, the research professor who can excite students is also a good teacher.

A final comment suggested the importance of student evaluation. Student evaluations can and should be utilized by professors to improve teaching.

Problem XI:

The Setting. Almost all undergraduates are required to take a number of courses in various disciplines during their freshman and sophomore years in colleges. This program is commonly called general education. Much of what an elementary major learns about an academic discipline is learned in these first two years. A secondary major usually will learn no more about any of these disciplines while in college except for the ones in which he specializes.

The Problem in Teacher Preparation. Colleges are often criticized because Education majors lack subject matter competence. This creates problems for the individual teacher trying to teach his class without an adequate background of information. It also creates a problem in public relations for the college.

A Proposed Solution. Too often undergraduate courses such as Geography 100 are taught by the newest member of the department or by a teaching assistant. In either case this person is likely to be less than fully dedicated and/or qualified. The same person seldom teaches the course long enough to develop it fully.

The best professors in the various departments should teach these undergraduate courses. Associate and full professors who have displayed teaching ability and scholarship in their fields of study could be assigned to teach at least one general education course per quarter or semester.

Advantages.

a. Better instruction for all undergraduates.

b. A better base upon which to build teaching minors and majors for secondary teachers.

c. A better subject matter background for elementary teachers.

d. A better public image of the college or university.

Disadvantages.

a. Colleges and Universities reward professors for research and publication. These activities do not grow easily out of teaching freshman classes.

b. Many full professors don't want to teach the general education courses.

c. A shortage of fully qualified people makes it difficult to staff both general education and upper level courses with fully qualified instructors.

III

HIGHER EDUCATION, CLINICAL SCHOOLS, AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

The Format of The Clinical School

The Research-Oriented Clinical School

Paul Saettler

Mr. Saettler is a member of the New York University branch of the Tri-University Project, a branch which is dedicated to the proposition that the behavioral sciences -- psychology, sociology, anthropology, psychoanalysis, psycholinguistics -- may be usefully applied to the analysis of what happens in classrooms so as to give us more meaningful teacher education programs. Mr. Saettler argues in the essay which follows that this assumption of the Tri-University Project is false, that presently behavioral scientists are too busy with rats and monkeys or with children in special laboratory situations to provide really meaningful insights into schools. For schools are not at all like the 'laboratories' in which behavioral scientists work. Mr. Saettler's proposal is that schools be built which can, in a meaningful way, serve as the laboratories in which scientists can study the behaviors of human groups while they are engaged in learning. Thus, Mr. Saettler envisages clinical schools which can in a meaningful way be considered the 'laboratories' of behavioral scientists, in which empirical research of a fairly rigorous sort can be done, and over whose policy the scientist has sufficient control so that his research can be carried out in a controlled milieu and projections from research may be made. The choice of policy may then be a projection from research, and the success or failure of policy a verification of research. Mr. Saettler's schools would be set up to permit research by people in the disciplines and in Education concerning the operation of the process of learning and acculturation in a variety of cultural milieu and with students of the most diverse sorts. Mr. Saettler's schools would also be a vehicle whereby research would be 'published,' for it would be circulated not by ERIC or the Harvard Educational Review. It would be 'circulated' by the children taught in the school. That is, it would be published by being embodied in what the school did with and for kids. Apparently research 'published' in other forms has very little effect upon America's schools.

Research and Its Relevance To Our Educational Practice

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I will begin by presenting some problems of education, problems perceived both before and since I began my year at NYU.

First of all, it is my opinion that behavioral science research and its relevance to teacher education has been stressed out of proportion to its real value. I do not imply that behavioral science research cannot provide a viable, theoretical and experimental base for teacher education. It has not, however, provided such a base, and the failure cannot be ascribed, as many behavioral scientists would have it, to the naivete or ignorance of teacher educators. Before behavioral scientists can speak more relevantly to the state of teacher education, they will have to change their own mode of thinking about education, and their mode of operation. They must become more intimately involved in teacher education itself; they must become more familiar with what has been going on in the history of education, with what is going on in the structure of education, the politics of education, and the dynamics of the classroom. They need to know these matters before they can begin to pose proper research questions. And once they begin research, they must also concern themselves with the implementation of their research in the arena of public education. Behavioral scientists often act as if they would say to those of us who are in teacher education: "I've been doing the research; now it's your business to implement it." I reject this notion. When the researchers also work at the implementation of their work, their value will greatly increase. It follows, of course, that educators must be more aware of behavioral science research -- a primary assumption of the Tri-University Project. Professors of education must be brought together with behavioral scientists in an organizational or political framework within which continuing dialogue can take place. Behavioral scientists and educators obviously need to develop an understanding and growing respect for each other. Our worlds are mutually interlocking worlds.

Secondly, it is my opinion that the relationship of content specialists and teacher educators needs to be rethought. Content specialists have always assumed that the means and end of instruction derive from the 'subject matter' disciplines, and only secondarily from the developmental process, the process of learning. They have focused on the content *per se*, rather than on the learning of content. They too need to submit their assumptions to experimental verification. And, to date, much of the restructuring of subject matter areas has been done through a process of trial and error, a process whose products lack meaningful experimental testing. Original axioms have been refined rather than tested in practice; and teachers have evaluated their accomplishments based on a given set of axioms assumed to be valid, rather than evaluating the validity of the axioms themselves.

Thirdly, it is my opinion that reorganization plans proposed by educators in the schools must be seriously scrutinized by those of us who care about the education of teachers. These plans propose new solutions to persisting problems of learner grouping, advancement, scheduling, use of space, equipment, and teacher deployment. They also pertain to programs for slow learners, the culturally disadvantaged, the physically handicapped, and the academically talented. However, most of the present proposals for 'innovation in the schools' lack an adequate research base or underlying justifying psychological theory; they are developed in terms of economic, political, or social considerations, and are not based on empirical investigation. Too often the adoption of new content, new organizational plans, new media, new designs, and new facilities supplant instructional improvement. Too often, such structural reorganization bears only a slight relationship to basic improvement in the quality of education. To date, implementation of new organizational plans has inadequately provided for the total instructional system: procedures, materials, media, required staff, even financial support. And interestingly enough, research studies on such schemes for reorganization -- non-grouping, team teaching, tactical grouping, and modular scheduling -- point to their repeated failures.

Still another recurrent problem pertains to the reemergence of the educational industry. School districts purchasing commercial instructional systems, provided with individual materials and supportive equipment, are literally buying the educational objectives and instructional procedures built into them. Can we reasonably expect the commercial developers to produce empirically tested instructional systems, materials, and techniques, when most educators and academic specialists themselves have been negligent? The answer is that probably that we cannot. Before we can cope with these problems of teacher education -- education related to the behavioral sciences, to content specialists, school reorganization, and the commercial development of materials -- we have to shift our entire organizational, political, and methodological conception of teacher education. To this end I would like to make some suggestions.

Colleges of Education could join with the disciplines and with the public schools in a systematic approach to the problem of teacher education. We could make use of teachers, behavioral scientists, media specialists, engineers, and a host of other people not now included among educational personnel. This kind of plan must be implemented if schools and colleges of education, if colleges and universities, are to assume full responsibility for their full educational programs -- which they haven't thus far done. Colleges and universities must legally and financially assume the full responsibility of schooling a representative cross-section of the cultural groups of their region, of finding effective means of teaching these groups. To effect this project, colleges and universities could create a series of experimental laboratory schools under their complete control. They would be staffed by education professors, teachers, behavioral scientists, communication specialists, and other personnel, for the reeducation of experienced teachers, educational administrators, and subject matter specialists. Each person would be involved in some kind of developmental research project. The function of these laboratory schools would not be demonstration, dissemination, and field testing (the function of older laboratory schools); rather the schools would exist to bridge the gap between theoretical ideas and instructional practice. Although each laboratory school would be basically small, student enrollment would be carefully controlled, and highly diversified in terms of social and racial backgrounds, faculties, interests, and ages.

Within the laboratory school, a place should be set aside for extensive observation and testing: in this room, we would use atypical procedures; here we will begin to examine some assumptions and make changes on an experimental basis; we will experiment with various models and techniques. We might question traditional assumptions about the size of classes, about the role of the teacher, about the distinction between the role of teacher and the role of media. And also we might examine all sorts of models and theories of learning, using experimental procedures so that the models or theories could be modified or completely changed as we gathered evidence about how children in our society learn. In fact, we might even question whether there should be such a thing as a school building, and whether instruction should not be again returned to the home.

I am convinced that we can expect little innovation in the instructional practices of our schools until we achieve this kind of clinical control by colleges and universities. It is becoming increasingly obvious that we know very little about the complex motivation and conditions involved in the structural innovations for the future. The existing research literature reveals a paucity of empirical evidence on how to foretell the change process, or what strategies to employ to control it. We do know that we cannot anticipate significant changes in teacher education merely through the dissemination of research reports, or even through the efforts of the

Tri-University Project. Although a researcher believes that he can fulfill his responsibility as researcher when he disseminates information on his research, we know that the desire to do research and the desire to give instruction or to affect it are rarely found together. The same gap may continue to exist if we persist in just producing more research articles, and disseminating information and materials in a conventional manner. We view our proposed approach, in the colleges and universities, to the control of public schools as a unique project where behavioral scientists, teachers, administrators, subject matter specialists, media specialists, instructional technologists, and engineers will be involved and 'belong' in the school process. We would ask that they join together in fruitful attack on the problems concerning which they will learn in our realistic setting. The resultant development both of knowledge and of skills will hopefully advance teacher education to the status of a true profession.

Some of you might rightfully object to this proposal and say, "Well, colleges and universities are not equipped to do this sort of thing, not ready for that kind of responsibility." I say they must assume this responsibility. I think we need to change the system -- to make more sweeping changes in the colleges and universities, particularly in the schools of education than we already have. We need to make very radical, drastic changes or the whole fabric of teacher education may fall apart. In fact, teacher education might even be taken out of the universities if the colleges refuse to accept such responsibility. If they do not accept it, there is some question whether they have a legitimate professional reason for continuing to exist; perhaps they would deserve to have teacher education taken from them. Therefore, it is my hope that someone, somewhere, somehow, will take the first steps in the direction of developing laboratory schools set up under the guidance and control of colleges and universities -- for the sake of higher education, for the sake of the schools, and for the sake of the children who study in the schools.

The Clinical School As Artist's Workshop

Professors Dorothy Seaberg and Wanna Zinsmaster

Though teaching is frequently spoken of as an 'art,' it is not generally treated as one. That is, whereas in the arts it is assumed that certain skills can be taught and certain skills learned from practice, it is always assumed that neither teaching nor practice will produce 'performances' which are extraordinary until the individual performer controls his own medium and somehow -- sensitive to his situation, his audience, his medium, his specific opus -- makes of the whole something which was not implicit in any of its parts. One thinks of Hazlitt's instancing of the difference between the glowworm in its leaf on a summer's night and the parts of the same glowworm and leaf dissected beneath a microscope. Or of Yeats' "How can you tell the dancer from the dance?" One of the difficulties implicit in efforts to set down specific classroom behaviors which ought to emerge from a lesson or to analyze classroom behavior and teacher behavior (e.g. Flander's Interaction Analysis schedule) is that such analytic schemes do not raise the question of the decorum of the use of a strategem -- talk, questioning or whatever -- in the context in which it is used. The Sermon on the Mount and The Symposium would look 'artless' and 'crude' on an interaction analysis schedule. Moreover, such schemes center in verbal means of instruction and do not raise questions about what teachers have done with things (as opposed to words). Or, for that matter, with gestures, with colors, with intonations and nuances, with the relating of person to person in a community (or 'cast') at a non-verbal level. The essay which follows by Professors Seaberg and Zinsmaster may suggest meaningful ways of looking at the art of teaching as well as at the skills which contribute to it. It may suggest another way of organizing clinical schools. Finally, it may suggest what studies would contribute to the development of clinical schools for training teachers who wished to try to master the art of teaching as if they were mastering a series of dances. To learn a dance is both to accept a rigid formulaic discipline and to improvise within the discipline.

The
Choreography of Teaching

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I would like to propose a picture of teaching, one that includes the use of materials and techniques from departments of education, from the behavioral sciences, and the performing arts. As I see it, the ultimate goal we seek to achieve in education is the creation of a sound social and political environment where a child can develop socially, emotionally, and intellectually. In order to obtain this ultimate goal, a goal which Eric Fromm and the later ontopsychologists call the complete person within a 'sane society,' we must have four aims:

1. to help individuals become related to themselves and to others.
2. to help individuals transcend the self through the release of creative power.
3. to help individuals find their identity and follow their unique patterns of individuation.
4. to help individuals develop the power to reason well.

In order to achieve these four aims that make up the final goal, environments must be created for the kinds of confrontations pupils need. They may be thought of as: 1) the political environment, 2) the technological environment, 3) the scientific environment, and 4) the aesthetic environment. Both teachers and pupils are part of these environments.

The political environment encompasses all the interpersonal relationships existing within the group of teacher and pupils; it includes the entire social and political power structure. This arena of interaction, of human relationships, of policy and decision-making is the political environment of the classroom. To keep such a political organization operative, there must be authority. The community vests authority in the teachers, but there will nevertheless be a power struggle in the classroom as each child strives to satisfy his desire for status. Since one of the problems in the classroom (as in society-at-large) is the alienation and apathy of powerless groups, the teacher must build the kind of environment or emotional climate where the child can achieve a sense that he is 'somebody,' where he can lead the group as well as follow, where he can share in decision-making, in short, where he can experience and examine the constructive use of power and the responsibilities that go with that power.

The environment which permits this kind of decision making, reflective thinking, and shared power is what Thelen refers to as an environment in which the learner is engaged in work rather than labor. Pupils should be deriving their purposes from work that is meaningful to them and not be coerced into laboring for the teacher (or for the adult society as a whole). To develop this interest in meaningful 'work,' the teacher must relate with each child on his own wave length while the child himself begins to recognize and value his own uniqueness. Each child should become an independent as well as interdependent being, a being who trusts his own judgments and who is able to proceed in his own unique way. In such an environment, children can discover one another, communicate with one another, help one another. The teacher creates such a freeing political environment through a 'helping' relationship. He must, as a helper, lead the child to expanding levels of independence. He must not be an irrational authority -- the kindly paternalist enforcing a master-slave relationship, keeping the child in a state of continuing dependence and self-degradation. Although he is on the giving end of the relationship with the pupil on the receiving, under the proper conditions both will grow and develop. Phony helpfulness will, on the other hand, cripple and debilitate, stifle and smother. It will create one-dimensional people.

In a traditional sense, the major function of the school is to develop the individual's skills (communication, computation, thinking, etc.) and his knowledge of theory, his organized conceptions of bodies of knowledge which will enable him to function as an educated citizen. The environment through which the teacher carries out this expectation is a technological one. It includes those aspects of the curriculum which call for the development of strategies which set the stage for learning. In this environment, the chief teaching mode may be thought of as mediation between the student and the subject matter.

When functioning as a mediator, the teacher deliberately selects materials and situations for the classroom so that children are confronted with meaningful types of problems. If the child is confronted by problems that count, his curiosities and interests will be stimulated, and he will become personally involved with the need to do or know. 'Feedback' is provided at appropriate times to enable him to know his progress toward his goal; his learning is 'reinforced' through the satisfactions he attains. This teacher is a facilitator of his learning and attempts to individualize his 'learning tasks.'

A teacher, in deciding how to intervene, sets up certain clear strategies: planned modes of action which involve the selection, combination and implementation of the methods, materials, and pupil activities which best lead to a selected behavioral goal. A particular behavioral goal is always held central to any learning experience (although ancillary goals may also be important). When a teacher selects a prepared program to fulfill a learning need of a child, he is using programmed strategy. However, he is also using programmed strategy when he plans a step-by-step sequential lesson and with his direct intervention guides the pupil from an established purpose to the behavioral accomplishment of that purpose, including appropriate feedback and reinforcement. Careful attention is given to moving from the concrete to the abstract and from the simple to the complex. This procedure may be used in the assimilation of a concept or the acquisition of a skill. The learning goal here is thought of as 'product.'

But the teacher may also be concerned with 'process' and 'appreciation' goals. If these are his objectives, he employs an open-ended strategy. When the teacher is primarily concerned with the processes of reflective thinking and inquiring, of examining values, of appreciating a work of art, the behavioral goal is that a child 'experience a process' or 'appreciate.' In an open-ended strategy, the teacher does not attempt to indoctrinate -- to give anybody a hint as to 'what to think'; he is concerned with the 'how to think.' He does not dictate what the child should appreciate; he sets the stage so appreciation can occur.

The third environment, the scientific, is one that yields knowledge to the teacher regarding the inhabitant of that environment -- the child: his physical, mental, and socio-emotional growth. The function of the teacher in this environment is diagnosis or the act of identifying a condition, situation, or problem from its signs and symptoms.

While functioning in this role the teacher uses a 'clinical verbal approach' for the study of the rational or affective process in which the child is engaged. The technique which we are proposing here is similar to that used by Piaget and Feuerstein and requires a constant verbal intervention during action to reveal the process of exploration going on within a child. Intervention of this type helps develop in the teacher an awareness that children in various milieus learn and think in various ways. For instance, disadvantaged children seldom use the words 'if' and 'like': if they perform the logical operations with which these words are associated, they use different words. Thus the teacher through his diagnosis realizes that the child may lack the ability to compare, or the vocabulary of comparison, and as a result may be deficient in an area required for the exploration of his world. The use of diagnosis can enable the teacher to become aware of children's differences from other children, but a teacher is primarily the interpreter of potential. If in the diagnosis the student 'looks bad,' the teacher does not ignore the discouraging evidence but looks behind it for an indication of hidden potential. And if the child for some reason seems to be failing, to be deviating from norms, then the teacher looks further to see if the fault lies with the materials or the instructor rather than with the child.

The teacher who can do diagnoses is concerned with individuation--the development of the individual person. As diagnostitian, he is freed from the role of judge and given the more objective role of the man who finds out what's what in order to offer answers to the problems he finds.

The aesthetic environment is not a distinct and separate entity from the other three. It comprises all of the teaching-learning act. In this environment the teacher uses intuitive, artistic powers to maneuver, arrange and make meaningful relationships among the other three environments. The chief teaching function in the aesthetic environment is 'choreography of action' among and within all the environments as they play upon each other.

In this environment, the concern is with the beauty of the work of art choreographed by the teacher, and here answers must be sought to such questions as: what comprises the work of art of the teacher-artist? what is the composition of this object? what are its effects upon those who encounter it? what are its characteristics?

As a result of these questions, as a result of the various combinations of teacher, student, and materials, this environment constantly changes. The teacher-artist, because of the changes, is always forced to create a new work of art (environment) to be encountered again by the pupil. Thus the teaching act or artistic dance never ends. It must never end because one environment arouses in the student an intense desire for another environment, an intense desire for new learning experiences which the teacher must create.

Such classroom environments as the political, technological, scientific, and aesthetic will not just 'happen,' however. They must be carefully prepared for through the undergraduate training of the teacher and through his own daily activities after graduation. As a means of preparing teachers to operate within these environments I suggest the following undergraduate curriculum schedule. Each of these units will be accompanied by laboratory experiences:

First Professional Semester:

Block Course #1 -- Teaching as Relationship: the Political Environment of the Classroom.

Content: This block will deal with social education in the elementary school and the objectives of education. The study will include child development from an ontopsychological point of view, including phenomenology, social psychology, with attention to societal forces impinging on the child and the school, and social structure of the classroom. The primary function of the teacher -- which is to relate man to man -- will be explored.

Block Course #2 -- Aesthetics of Teaching: the Creative Process

Content: After an introduction to the creative process used in the arts, students would participate in a series of workshops in art, music, dance, creative dramatics, and literature. Each of these workshops would explore the place of the arts in the elementary curriculum and would include laboratory experience. The relationship of each of these arts to each other and to the creative process would be continually explored.

Second Professional Semester:

Block Course #3 -- Educational Technology: Teaching as Mediation

Content: This course will deal with educational psychology and cognitive learning. It will be developed around a concept of 'structure of knowledge' as related to the areas of science, social studies, and mathematics. Emphasis should be placed on both programmed and open-ended strategies combining methods, materials, and activities related to both behavioral and expressive objectives. Ways of organizing the curriculum to result in integration of learning should be considered.

Block Course #4 -- Communications in the Classroom

Content: The course should center on the role of language in learning. There should be the teaching of work in the English language and the 'arts' of using it for personal and 'objective' purposes -- in both its written and spoken form.

Third Professional Semester:

Block Course #5 -- Choreography of Teaching

Content: All-day student teaching for one-half of the semester should be accompanied by and followed with a seminar on 'choreography in teaching.'

Block Course #6 -- Educational Diagnosis: Methods and Tools of Diagnosis and Evaluation.

Given such a program, given such an interest in creating the four environments mentioned before, the relationships among the disciplines and the colleges of education will be crucial. They must work together both on the content and the structure of the material and the entire program. Likewise if such a program is to succeed the universities, colleges, and public schools must all be given equal status, and all must be more than tokenly involved. This conceptual model of 'Choreography of Teaching' cannot succeed otherwise.

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If we are to create a choreography of teaching, we might well learn from directors of the dances and plays. As part of creating a sort of prologue to the development of the notion of teaching as choreography, we interviewed choreographers, conductors, and directors -- those who can best understand and can best define the artistic process. In selecting this group we assumed one major factor, that each had a basic command of his subject matter; we also assumed that before one could be 'artistic,' he must know his subject matter thoroughly.

Each of the men whom we interviewed prepared answers to questions concerning his background interests in his profession, his total professional training, and his techniques of preparing a work for performance. We asked the following fourteen questions:

1. Why did you choose play directing, choreography, or conducting as your field of work? What preparation did you have for your work? What was most valuable in your preparation?

2. When you pick up the score or printed material, how do you know that it's worth producing?

3. Do you envision an entire production in advance of working with the players just through reading the printed material, or does this emerge as you work with the players, musicians, or dancers?

4. How do you know when to add to or cut from printed materials?

5. What kind of clues do you get from the first rehearsal?

6. How do you work with performers so the production is the result of their creative response and not the imposition of your own ideas? How much of the finished product is imposed by you?

7. Through what kind of working relationship with the performers do you get the best results?

8. How do you go about creating the atmosphere for the kind of action (or in the case of music, the kind of mood) you desire?

9. How do you know how to use each person's potential to the best advantage?

10. How important is timing and pacing to the entire performance?

11. How do you know when to re-do a scene or rehearse a section of a musical score again?

12. How do you know when a performance is ready for an audience?

13. Are there any specific principles you rely on to guide your work?

14. What relationships do you see between teaching and your art?

From these questions we discovered that the choreographers and directors were not just 'inspired prophets' but relied on significant preparation -- both in the academic disciplines and in so-called 'field experience.' The directors indicated that a close relationship exists between a liberal arts education and what they could do with music, drama, and dance. They felt that they had continually drawn from a background of literature, philosophy, and social sciences in order to be perceptive, in order to grasp all the implications of their material.

But of greater significance to them than their liberal arts background were their professional field experiences. The directors, conductors, and choreographers all indicated that the complex operation of working with, studying under, and watching outstanding men in their field was the most valuable part of their training.

The correlation between the arts and teaching is striking in this: that both need a broad liberal education and professional field experience under outstanding men. Teachers, perhaps even more than artists, need a liberal arts background to gain perceptions, to grasp the implications of a variety of materials, and to answer the diverse questions of students; the pre-service and in-service training as well as the observing of college professors actually teaching elementary or secondary courses gives them a more-than-theoretical basis for solving actual classroom problems. But the combination of a liberal arts background, professional models and actual experience which we presently offer teachers might well be strengthened.

The artists with whom we talked felt that the material with which they worked *per se* affected the quality of their ability to direct and the actors', dancers', and musicians' ability to perform. In choosing a work to perform, each artist envisioned it in terms of the media -- music, drama, or dance -- in terms of the performer's ability, and in terms of the work's appeal to a certain type of audience. Other criteria for selecting materials were 'the extent to which the producer and performers could bring something to the script,' and 'the degree to which the material had contemporary significance.' The directors also felt the need to change or modify the materials continually as they discovered the weaknesses and strengths of both materials and the performers. And they felt that the performer must understand the 'why' of the material, not just the 'what to do' in performing his part.

The implications of what the artists said about the choice of teaching materials may be significant. To press our analogy further, the material a teacher uses must be based on the subject matter taught. Obviously, the kinds of materials -- textbooks, audio-visual aids, etc. -- used for the teaching of geography rather than English would be totally different. But, the choice of materials must also be governed by such considerations as the childrens' age, background, class, understanding, and ability; and minority group children such as the Spanish-American children, Afro-Americans, and Asiatic-Americans may need a corpus of materials that differs significantly from that used for middle-class whites. The material must be different in order to interest each group in learning, and in order to present ideas pertinent to their backgrounds and particular way of life. The students' wish to learn may directly reflect the kinds of materials used and relevance to their environment. Materials, then, must be selected on the basis of contemporary significance, and how they aid the student in understanding his environment. They should be as 'contemporary' and relevant as a good play is. They must be selected to teach not 'what to do' but 'how to do it.' They should, like a good play, raise all sorts of questions, whether or not answers can be found to them. And while the teacher may establish the broad outlines of the program and decide what 'basic' or 'seed' materials to use, while he may take upon himself the function of explaining these materials and thus stimulating the student, the student must feel also the power to change the script, to initiate individually new developments while always accepting the responsibility of working within the 'cast.' In simple terms, the teacher and student must both 'bring something to the script.' As the teacher discovers the strength and weakness of both the materials and the students, he should change (or modify) the materials, speed up or slow down the program and learn the equivalent to 'pacing' and 'timing' in the arts. Through a diagnostic look at the behaviors of the participants involved in the use of the materials, the teacher may be able to determine their capabilities, understandings, and relationships to each other -- whether this cast can do this script. He may discover that the participants are not a working unit ready to undertake a specific task. In this case he ceases to work on the material itself and seeks through other means to develop a working group. A static set of materials, an inflexible program, can only frustrate and bore teachers and students alike.

The directors, conductors, and choreographers with whom we had conversations also tended to push the need for learning techniques in directing and in performing which would make possible a 'good final production': good rapport between director and performer; intense interchange of ideas about the general philosophy underlying the work being produced, its aims and how the individual can play a significant role in realizing them; a knowledge of the medium; and the need for such personal qualities as sincerity, believability, honesty, good humor, friendliness, enthusiasm, etc. The performer, if he is to fulfill his potential, must have his own ideas about the work heard. The real or imaginative creation of certain backgrounds may help at times -- the use of props may help to create a working mood -- or the director's helping the performer imagine such stage properties may create a certain mood. Obviously what the director is to the performers, his 'I-thou' relationship with the performer, can directly influence the production. In teaching as in the arts the primary technique is verbal communication. When the teacher ceases to look down on a student, when he begins to relate with him in a scholar-to-scholar manner, and when the students themselves establish good classroom communication with each other, then real learning might certainly take place. The teacher must respect and work with the uniqueness of individuals -- on the individual's own terms -- both with regard to temperament and ability. If the teacher is to be believed, is to be valued for his knowledge of the subject matter, he must be believable and frank; he must deal with the class members with firmness, with the adroit use of good humor, with a sort of camaraderie, and with enthusiasm -- all of these means to the creation of a viable social group in the classroom and antidotes to the fear tactics, harassment, and the competitive system with its academic 'prizes,' which too often poison the atmosphere of our classrooms. Non-verbal means of communication -- gestures, facial expression, intonation, and manner of speech -- must supplement the verbal ones.

As in the theatre, the use of 'stage properties' can facilitate learning. Each elementary room, for example, might include a reading corner replete with davenports and chairs, a science table filled with equipment for scientific experimentation, an area for drawing and painting -- a diversified environment which will allow the student to pursue his interests in an atmosphere conducive to good and yet relaxed work, thus significantly aiding the learning process. Setting is important in other ways. When one is reading a piece of literature, or studying an era or concept in history, one might imaginatively depict a vision of the period in order to create an awareness of the setting, of the way the people thought, felt, and moved, and the significant, prevailing, social, philosophical or political attitudes. An actual imaginative recreation of such an environment could be immensely helpful in interesting the student, and helping him develop intellectual awareness. When the teacher through his discussions with the student, through his every act and gesture indicates his enthusiasm for the material and respect for the student, when neither the teacher nor the student is threatened by the other, then they can both learn, then education is a two-way process and does not involve the brutal imposition of the teacher's ideas on the student.

In short then, in his relation with the student, in his role of mediator between material and student, the teacher uses a conscious artistry which is a combination of three things: 1) knowledge and experience gained from an academic (liberal arts) education and field experiences such as pre-service and in-service training and the observation of professional models; 2) careful selection and use of materials, and ability to add to and delete from a program in order to 'play to' the various chronological and mental ages, backgrounds, and interests of students; and 3) use of teaching techniques and creation of a classroom atmosphere (through the physical arrangement of the classroom and through the imaginative, mental pictures created by the teacher) that will interest the child in learning. Though the teacher has the professional background, good materials, and interesting teaching techniques, his job is still not completed; he must use his accumulated experience, keen observation of students at work and play, and what might be called 'intuition' in order to keep himself and the students interested in learning.

Because 'teaching' is like 'directing a play' in all sorts of analogical ways, we would recommend the following very general requirements for the university training of teachers:

1. Pre-service and in-service classroom training with 'artist' teachers and with professors of education who are artists at teaching to be used as teaching models.

2. Special courses in communications. These courses might involve both the development skills in talk and sensitivity in human relations.

3. A liberal arts background which gives really serious attention to the humanities, sciences and social sciences, in courses designed to develop the powers of thought, sensitivity to people, to situations, and to the 'creative process' of pre-service teachers.

4. Courses in acting, oral interpretation, play reading and directing (especially directing any of the performing arts where an audience is involved) which develop the pre-service teacher's capacity to act as classroom choreographer. Perhaps departments of education and fine arts might together develop special courses for teachers in this area.

The Clinical School Adjusted to Culture and Neighborhood

Evelyn Wiggins and Pat Gardner

From the first Tri-University Project conference emerged the notion that the teacher-in-training ought to be trained in schools tempered to a variety of cultures, neighborhoods, and authority systems. From that conference also emerged the conception that the elementary teacher-in-training ought to study the cognitive styles of various cultures. He ought to do a contrastive study of the methods of learning and teaching at work in various cultures. He ought to look at how man organizes reality through mythical systems or manipulates it through various economic systems. He ought to have some knowledge of how cultures relate man to woman and man to man within a group. The two essays which follow are an effort to show how schools can be created which do not pit the individual against the school, the school against the culture, or, in Jules Henry's phrase, "man against culture."

Wiggins and Gardner are interested in the manner in which the clinical school in which the teacher-to-be is trained could be (1) a school which adjusts to -- or better, exploits the strength of -- the community pattern; (2) a school which begins with the resources of the region and builds upon them; (3) a school which accepts the dignity of the 'myths,' language patterns, styles of living, and of relating in groups of all kinds of people. Gardner and Wiggins are, also, implicitly suggesting what kinds of schools would provide the pre-service elementary teacher with a world worthy of his study -- a world to which he might bring the tools of the disciplines to see whether they render 'reality' coherent and give him a sense of what it means. The teacher-to-be who studies and teaches in the kinds of milieus described by Wiggins and Gardner may be able to determine to what extent the study of the disciplines is relevant to the formulation of school policy -- how and what a teacher should teach and how schools should be organized in a neighborhood.

Teacher Training, Diverse School Formats and Diverse Cultures: Urban Settings -- A Report on Site Visits

Evelyn L. Wiggins
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During our year as participants in the Tri-University Project, some of us had the opportunity to visit imaginative elementary schools, both urban and rural. We went to these schools hoping to determine how clinical schools associated with institutions for training teachers might be built. We wanted to see schools which take real cognizance of the differences existing among children and among neighborhoods. I want to discuss some of our observations of innovations in some urban schools (primarily schools in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts). I will endeavor to use a few touchstones to define what these schools are doing and how Higher Education might profit from what they are doing.

America has prided herself on her 'melting pot' tradition, an idea which has meant education in only the English language; usually, in one dialect of that language; and education according to the values and standards of the 'insider' as opposed to the 'outsider.' For years America has believed that children of different cultural, ethnic, religious, and economic backgrounds could be put through one common mold, the public schools, and that they would all emerge wonderfully as average American citizens. They obviously have not. Many of the educational problems which we face today may have come about because of our love of homogeneity. But now educators are beginning to listen to militant parents who are demanding different educations for different kinds of children. It was evident in the reports of the school visits that Navaho, Negro, and Jewish parents alike, in fact all parents, want more to say about what goes on in the schools their children attend; they have suddenly become vociferous in their demands for a bicultural and in some cases a bilingual education for their children. Let me give a few examples.

The private Jewish school which one of our people visited, was a school in which children were taught the Jewish heritage -- the religion and rituals of the Jewish people and the Hebrew language. The teachers of the Hebrew language were all native speakers of Hebrew and direct products of the heritage which was being transmitted. In the classrooms where Hebrew is taught, all labels, bulletin board titles, and charts are written or printed in Hebrew. Pictures are about the culture, the religion, and other activities in Israel. In this way the Solomon Schechter Day School preserves and passes on the Jewish heritage.

In the school a series of learning activities was being pursued on the assumption that certain basic language and cognitive skills are prerequisite to studying the Torah which is an integral part of their curriculum. Among the Hebrew language skills delineated were (a) a mastery of basic sentence structure; (b) a degree of aural-oral competency for the discussion of ideas in Hebrew, if possible; (c) a degree of competency in moving from the 'information' to the 'idea' level; and so on. Some skills envisaged by this school as requisite for the study of literature -- Hebrew or English -- were: (a) differentiating between prose and poetry, (b) differentiating between literal and figurative expression, (c) analyzing stories into component parts, and (d) understanding the effect of language on people. As a result of the school's intensive study of Hebrew and English literature, the children were expected to acquire the ability to move from enumeration to grouping and categorizing; to differentiate between observation and inference; to reserve judgment until all the evidence has been gathered; and to develop an awareness of shifts in modes of thinking.

The materials used to implement this ambitious program in linguistics and literature included such a text as Gardener's Genesis: The Teacher's Guide designed to prepare teachers in guiding discussion where children learn to question, to differentiate between what the literary text says and what it means, to offer ideas about both the statements and the 'messages' of a text and to substantiate their observations by reading aloud passages in question. Behind this kind of work lies a good deal of preliminary work involving discussions of the symbolic dimensions of such genres as myth and fable. The teachers prepare children to deal with the 'myths' in the Bible by preparing them first to be proficient with stories which come from outside the Hebrew tradition.

In the sixth grade classroom about a dozen boys and girls were participating in a round table discussion -- the session being taped so that the children could later evaluate their own performances with respect to discussion techniques, usage patterns, and the like. The moderator was one of the children. The teacher gave no audible direction, but encouraged reluctant participants to speak by writing encouraging messages on a large sheet of paper, and rewarded them when they responded by a smile, a nod, or a soft touch of approval. The children were discussing in a very sophisticated manner -- respecting each other's right to speak, reserving the right to agree or disagree, substantiating their beliefs by quoting or reading from the text. The book being discussed was Tolkien's The Hobbit and it was being discussed in terms set by the children -- in terms of the religious and mythic symbolism which the peculiar heritage of these children encouraged, or permitted them to perceive.

If the Solomon Schechter Day School tells us how a particularly wealthy urban environment may be exploited, the Horace Mann School may suggest how all kinds of urban environments can be used. In looking at Title I programs, the National Advisory Council on the Education of the Disadvantaged Child found that the programs for the disadvantaged were "piecemeal"; that they were rarely "strategically planned"; and that they rarely made an effort "to improve the out-of-school environment as well as the in-school environment."[1] One suggestion for changing radically the urban child's in-school environment so as to improve his conception of his own value and power has been that we emulate the format of the Leicestershire Infant Schools. These schools do seem to have developed in some English children a new sense of what school is for and what their own values are.

The Horace Mann School in Massachusetts is a non-graded school patterned after the Leicestershire Infant Schools. The school program is flexible and teachers attempt complete individualization in some cases. 'A rich texture' of materials provides for self-directed activities. Older children conventionally help younger children in their tasks. This kind of school with its 'integrated day,' has resulted from serious thinking; from study of the work of Piaget, Dewey, and others; it has also resulted from a good deal of creative innovation on the part of teachers and local school authorities. The integrated day, as Leonard Sealey (who is one of the guiding spirits of the movement) described it to me, is one in which heterogenous groups of children are placed in an 'artificially rich environment.' Here the child can make a unique synthesis of environments while the teacher watches to see what happens and tries to shape the child's own maneuvers toward better learning. A rich and varied total environment provides for children an opportunity to learn at their own pace and in their own ways. The significant thing about the infant schools, according to Sealey, is that they provide children with real choices and relevant ones. The teacher's role in such a school is to shape or engineer the environment by providing multi-sensory experiences for the children which invite -- indeed 'cause' -- learning to take place. The central role of language within the Horace Mann School environment and its importance to cognitive growth has also been emphasized in Leicestershire. Language helps children set up their own symbol systems and establish new codes of communication. The school allows them to use language to build humane relationships with other people and to arrange their experiences. In the Horace Mann School, as in Leicestershire schools and British infant and junior schools in general, teachers often make a special effort (as readers of Sybil Marshall will recognize) to make use of the resources of the local culture and to develop the local sense of pride.

If we are interested in clinical urban schools, the student teaching centers in Philadelphia may be especially interesting. Centers are set up in schools in deprived urban areas. A university coordinator, a supervisor from the university, the school principal, and the teachers collaborate in planning research with student teachers and children. Junior year students work in the Center three mornings a week and have classes on the University campus. Senior students spend one full semester there doing practice teaching. Some methods courses for student teachers are taught in the schools by the University supervisor.

Such a setting might be an appropriate site for the activities of a fifth grade class at another elementary school in Philadelphia, this one a ghetto school. In one classroom, a class was reviewing a movie they had made which provided evidence of their sense of proper sequence and understanding of metaphor. The children were using old typewriters to develop their spelling and writing skills and calling out to the teacher for help with spelling. This he obligingly gave. This teacher revived the ancient oral traditions of story telling in working with children who have stories in their heads but lack the skill to write them. In such cases he did the writing for the child -- as a scribe might -- recording the story faithfully in the child's dialect. One such story recorded is the story of 'Smooth-Talkin' Eves,' a story about an actual male teacher-confidant of the children in the school who also appeared as a character in their stories. In one story the protagonist, a surrogate for the child who wrote the story, wanted to find out how to kiss a girl (this also came from real life). He asked his confidant-teacher, 'Smooth Talkin' Eves' who readily obliged with mature advice. But when Mr. Eves' advice was followed, that is, when the young boy tried to kiss the 'plum' named Antoinette (obviously also of fifth grade age), the story teller reported that Mr. Eves' wisdom faltered. Antoinette 'knocked him [the story teller] down and stomp on him.' The moral, which the child attached to his 'lived out' fable was 'Don't flum around with a plum.'

In this school, ghetto children enjoyed such rapport with the teachers that they felt free to share ideas -- sometimes rather unconventional ones -- which they knew would be accepted.

In such an environment, one ten year old wrote:

A man is something like a sparrow.
    Instead of flying he walks and seeks the wonders of the world.

And:

If man was meant to destroy himself,
    why was he born in the first place?

And:

A man was meant to rule the world with dignity and pride.
    But instead he has war.

Schools like Horace Mann, Solomon Schecter and the ghetto school which I have just described are important. They may tell us how to build clinical schools in the future. They exemplify at least three significant notions. The first is that the philosophy and programs seem to be directed toward a differentiation of schools and staff. Schools are being designed to meet specific cultural and community needs. Most of these schools were involving parents in the school program and attempts were being made to perpetuate the culture and linguistic style which the parents used and seemed to cherish.

(It is also significant that many schools which we visited were using aides and para-professionals to relieve the teacher of classroom chores thus providing her with time for tutoring and other vital teaching tasks. In a primary education project for pre-school children in Pittsburgh, the pupil-teacher ratio with the help of aides and other para-professionals was five to one.)

The second direction or trend which we saw in the good schools is a trend toward developing mutuality and cooperation between the public schools and personnel from Higher Education. The student teaching centers in Philadelphia appear to be attempting to bridge the gap which has existed in many places between colleges and universities and the schools. In these centers students learn about teaching by doing some teaching in 'the reality of the schools' as Leonard Sealey describes it. Their plan is also an answer to Jimmy Britton's challenge of 'confrontation of the classroom' for both student teachers and educators of teachers.

The third direction and the most important to my way of thinking is the genesis of truly child-centered schools. All of the schools we saw recognized that schools should be special places for children, places which provide opportunities for choice accompanied by genuine involvement. There was also valuable experimentation with different routines and structures. While programmed and otherwise mechanized learning may be appropriate for some children, there were others for whom personal contact appeared to be more important. Some children seemed to be more 'person-oriented;' all were 'neighborhood' and 'culture-oriented.'

If this small sample description of what is happening in some elementary schools is indicative of what can happen in American education, then we may cherish some small hope that we will eventually design school environments for children in the daylight of reality and within the framework of their world.

Footnote

1. William C. Kvarceus, "The Disadvantaged Learner: Some Implications for Teachers and Teaching," pp. 3-4, mimeographed.

Teacher Training, Diverse School Formats And Diverse Cultures: Rural Settings -- A Report on Site Visits

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Part of the job of examining what "diversity in education" is needed in the United States if we are to create differentiated schools sensitive to cultural and regional variations -- particularly if we are to create differentiated clinical schools in which teachers can be trained -- fell to Jack Kittell and to me. We looked at specifically rural problems and solutions. Mr. Kittell visited Rough Rock, Arizona, and I visited small rural schools in Idaho Springs, Georgetown and Meeker, Colorado, and Tooele, Utah. Some of the perceptions which derive from Dr. Kittell's visit and the visits of members of the Tri-University project to schools where the world of the education of teachers is changing was evidenced in the reports presented this morning proposing modules for training which illustrated the results of their observations and research concerning a variety of sites. In this talk, I will focus specifically on two kinds of sites: sites in a Navaho community and in the rural west -- with their extremes of wealth and poverty and their distance from city lights and 'Culture' (with a capital 'C').

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Because of their western settings and their smallness, the rural schools of which I speak may offer us some common insights into the development of elementary education. Rough Rock is a school funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity (some $650,000 per year) and is administrated by a non-profit organization entitled Demonstration in Navaho Education, Inc., the acronym, DINE, meaning for the Navaho 'The People,' i.e, the Navahos themselves. The director of the school, Dr. Richard Roessel (an Anglo), is governed by a local school board elected from the Navaho community (interestingly enough with only one member having any formal education). The school board meets each Wednesday all day with the meeting conducted in Navaho and translated for the Anglos who may be present.

The board has complete fiscal control of the school, and it determines not only administrative and education policy but the curricula as well. This may not be so novel in many districts, but for Navaho education it is very novel. They have been denied the right to set their own curricular standards; they have been denied the right to be wrong for many years; now they have the funds and the freedom to make their own mistakes and to work out their own solutions to problems.

In addition to participating actively in the school board, parents are frequently found in the school itself; they are encouraged to come as helpers, pupils, or classroom observers. In fact, couples are hired for eight-week periods as dormitory parents. Other adult Navahos may be found in the arts and crafts areas of the schools: women in the basket weaving area and men in the wood working area. Members of the community who are specialists in Navaho music, dancing, ritual, folklore, myth, and ethics may actively participate in teaching the children their cultural background. That the total community participates in governing, and helping in the school's educational program is an important step for Indian education.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Rough Rock School is the bicultural and bilingual approach, an approach which ignores the long accepted and now crumbling belief that the best way to enable minorities to overcome discrimination is to whitewash them -- make them over into the average American -- and to discount, or destroy, their minority identification. The two-culture approach of the Rough Rock School recognizes the value of diversity in a highly pluralistic society, and it recognizes that a people must fulfill their own cultural identity before they can cope effectively with another culture. Accordingly, Navaho is taught as the primary language, and English is taught as a second language. The actual differences between the two languages are so great that teaching English to Navaho is much harder than teaching English to speakers, for example, of another branch of the Indo-European language family. The phonology, grammar, and vocabulary are polarly different -- even cultural word taboos are different.

Indeed, the two cultures differ in their logic for perceiving the world, its code of social relationships and individual behavior. Because of the bicultural and bilingual complexities, the ultimate goal at this school is to develop understandings and skills in both the Navaho and the American cultures. The Indian student learns to be proud of both Indian and American cultures -- and how they can be meaningfully integrated.

The educational organization of the school consists of two major parts: (1) in-school organization and (2) out-of-school and dormitory organization. The in-school organization depends upon a non-graded organization, departmentalized by subject matter. The scheduling is 'modular,' the classrooms are modified self-contained areas, students are organized into flexible informal groups, and instruction is really 'individualized.' For example, science, Navaho language and Navaho social living are taught as departmentalized subjects, and reading is taught on a non-graded approach.

The Rough Rock curriculum appears to separate into three segments: (1) informal-native culture, (2) formal-native culture and (3) American culture. In the informal-native culture, native specialists are invited to the school in an effort to preserve the Navaho cultural idiom. The formal-native culture involves the teaching of a specific subject, e. g. Navaho language (reading and writing), the oral tradition of literature, social living (customs, history, folklore, etc.,). Myths and folklore are the web against which both the practical and spiritual life of the Navaho is woven, and education which ignores them simply ignores the manner in which the Navaho child sees the world. Everything in the environment has an important mythical connection. The building of a hogan, its interior arrangement, the seating pattern within it, and its abandonment after it has sheltered a death are all decreed by myths. Human functions of every sort, including birth, health, sex, and death are governed by myths. Even Navaho science is in reality ethnobotany which is the ceremonial use of plants for healing purposes. The Navaho classification of some 1, 000 varieties of plants with 500 separate terms for their ritualistic use is governed by a complicated system deriving from myth. When a man disregards the implications of the myths -- that is, when he chooses to upset the delicate balance of the forces of good and evil -- then the universal order must be restored through a ritual. (It may be important to note that good and evil do not contend with one another in the Navaho universe; their universe is conceived of as emerging from the opposition of balanced forces, none of them specifically evil.) The Rough Rock school 'plays to' the Navaho child's sense of how the world is put together and what events in it mean not only through formal and informal study of the myths of the children's ancestors and parents but also through the study of 'ethnobotany' which places Navaho and western systems of classification side by side. Much of the material for these subjects of myth, ritual and ethnobiology is being produced at the curriculum center in Rough Rock.

The third area -- American culture -- includes the teaching of English as a second language and the teaching of other subjects traditional to most American elementary and secondary schools, subjects such as social studies, science, health, mathematics, guidance, and physical education.

The head of the school, the board of directors, and the community together analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of this organization and curricula. This is a continual process for them, and they evidence an eager willingness to make new innovations which would strengthen their educational framework and culture.

ii.

The non-Indian rural community public schools found in certain areas of the west exhibit, as does Rough Rock, the potential of the differentiated school. It was gratifying to discover that a community of less than 2,000 is capable of providing a school that rivals those in much larger systems, and that the public school that cannot be selective about student population may be as innovative as the private school.

The elementary schools in Idaho Springs, Georgetown, and Meeker, Colorado and those of Tooele, Utah, have changed considerably over the past few years -- from schools relying on traditional curricula and educational procedures to schools with expanded curricula and innovative teaching methods. Primary among the changes were the introduction of non-graded curricula, modular scheduling, and departmentalization of subject matter. With regard to non-graded curricula, the administrators of the schools believed that if a student could master an area quickly, he should be allowed to progress to another immediately. Likewise, if a youngster needed extra time, he should be allowed to have it without feeling penalized or 'stupid.' A non-graded schedule allows this type of structuring for the individual needs.

Modular scheduling is another technique introduced into the school systems. Modular scheduling also allows the maximum amount of emphasis on the progress of the individual; he can use as much or as little time each day needed to master the subject. In Meeker, pupils in the modular classes were asked to sign contracts with their instructors indicating their intent to work to their capabilities and to pursue a subject as far as their interests took them in the course of the school year. Their intention to research a subject did not affect the scheduling of modules; but given the same amount of time as the uncontracted, the contracted student was expected to do more. At the year's end, the contracted students were immensely proud of their achievement.

These districts were also experimenting with departmentalization in the belief that a teacher should teach where his competencies lie. Departmentalization was leading to team teaching and to an exchange of teachers among the elementary, middle, and high schools. (In Meeker, they retained a traditional self-contained third grade classroom which allowed the system to get maximum support from those teachers not yet willing to do team teaching.)

As teachers and administrators made these changes in instruction procedures, the teachers began to look ever more closely at phases of their instruction. They found that four formats were necessary in implementing the new practices centered in the individual, formats which allowed for 1) teaching to large groups, 2) teaching to small groups, 3) working in a laboratory in all subject areas, and 4) studying independently in the resource center, the library, or off-campus. The large group presentations were largely traditional lecture situations where the teacher disseminated the same general material to all students. Following the first phase, teachers would gather with several groups of students in a seminar situation for informal discussion on the previous lecture. Individual laboratory experiences and the independent study followed the group lectures and seminar discussions. The teacher functioned in this situation as lecturer, helper, and resource person. Most of the teacher's time was spent, however, circulating among the students working on their projects. In Meeker, the teacher's work was lessened by active participation of the older children helping the younger ones with their projects. Likewise, high school students were used as paraprofessionals several times a week in helping the elementary children. (In several cases, the high schoolers were influenced to enroll later in teacher education at the university level.)

The administration in Tooele, Utah, was implementing yet another innovation in its program: teachers allowed the pupils to request the scheduling of classes in which they showed an interest. The pupils, individually, wrote down the courses they would like to see taught. From these suggestions, the teachers compiled a list of suggested classes which the student body could then sign up for. The courses with the most signatures were taught. Thus, last year, the most popular elective course was Greek History for which eighty students registered. Schools are, it seems, beginning to listen to what students want in the developing of curriculum.

The various school systems, while implementing non-graded education, modular scheduling, departmentalization and team teaching, also changed the interior decor of their classrooms in the belief that the environment -- the surroundings in which a kid works -- are important to his behavior patterns. The Meeker school district, in particular, like many rural systems, is not particularly rich, and funds were not available for the construction of new classrooms. It was necessary to remodel and redecorate within a given set of buildings, to surround the children with bits of art work, sculpture, and poster work. In many of the schools, members of the community actively participated in the building and remodeling, in providing both the materials and labor. They built shelves and cabinets for storage of materials. A custodian wired the listening centers. Part of the community involvement went beyond building; parents and other community members in Meeker helped with the teaching. At the beginning of the school year, the schools put out a call to the community asking for help in the school. Interested community members replied, describing their particular talents -- whether they lay in the mechanical, industrial, and artistic areas or in other areas of knowledge. After the school assessed both the applicants' talents and school's needs, they asked specific people to help in both setting up and teaching courses. Since Meeker was an old mining town rich in history, those who lived there all their lives developed the materials and taught a course in city history.

Several of the schools restructured their classrooms in such a way as to encourage several related activities in one room. For example, in Idaho Springs, a second-third grade room was divided into five language art activity centers. Two girls were listening to a commercially recorded story; several children were following a story in their books and listening to it taped to help them develop their reading skills; another group was developing a play based on their reader using four characters and a director to help make the production realistic; a fourth group was writing a book about the adventures of the class's pet gerbils; and a final group was engaged in individualized programmed spellers.

These site visits suggest the necessity of training teachers in team teaching, in group planning, and various ways of getting to the individual child. They suggest that new careers in the schools can be created for the poor, the interested, and for those who lack a formal credential. They suggested that schools tempered to and involving the community in making old things new are not either Reader's Digest easy or impossible. Differentiated education is a public school reality; perhaps we as teacher trainers need to see what is happening out there in the great wide world of public instruction and assume the responsibility of training teachers to meet the reality by implementing our own curricular changes and creating clinical schools where teachers may be trained which are as differentiated as the schools of America are becoming at their best.

The Training of Teachers: Higher Education and the Schools -- Some Concrete Suggestions

Beth Griesel, Mario D. Rabozzi, and Carl E. Schomberg

The recommendations which follow as to how the schools and Higher Education ought to be related to one another were developed by a team at the University of Washington project. Many of the changes in procedure for training teachers which are recommended in their report can be funded under the Education Professions Development Act and some of them have been incorporated into the programs for relating Higher Education and the schools which were proposed to the United States Office of Education under the National TTT Program (Training the Teachers of Teachers). That these changes were independently recommended by a segment of the University of Washington group may suggest how significant is the need for them. A recent book published by the Northwestern University Press and entitled The Clinical Professorship discusses many of the issues discussed by Griesel, Rabozzi, and Schomberg. It also presents some of the problems which institutions which endeavor to establish new relationships between Higher Education and the schools will face.

The Training of Teachers: Higher Education and the Schools -- Some Concrete Suggestions

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The successful education of a teacher depends on the careful integration of the student's actual teaching experiences and the kind of subject matter work he takes at the university. Our report particularly concerns the students' pre-service and in-service teaching experiences. There is little agreement among universities or among universities and schools as to how such experiences should be handled. It is abundantly clear, however, that no one institution, school system, agency, or state department can be responsible for the kinds of changes necessary. Because the universities and schools do not agree as to what the teacher's clinical teaching experiences should be, because clinical work implies the necessity of involving several different parties, and because serious work in teacher education requires that we establish some grounds for a discussion of the clinical teaching experience, we would like to pass on to you some observations first about pre-service teacher education and then about in-service teaching -- particularly in the social sciences -- which may be of some assistance to schools trying to develop a meaningful relationship between the schools and the university. We feel:

(1) That Schools of Education and the public schools need to communicate more frequently and closely. At present, the universities fail to look at a particular school's needs and specialized programs; the schools do not listen to the advice of the practice teaching supervisors who infrequently visit the schools. If the staffs of the college and the public school were willing to move back and forth between the two sites, we could more easily bridge the gap between theory and practice.

(2) That Colleges of Education need to appoint 'clinical professors' who will be responsible for the relating of the theory offered in the university to be experiences of 'intern teaching' in the schools.

(3) That means and funds should be secured for the establishing of national guidelines for relating Departments of Education and the schools.

(4) That various team approaches to student teaching should be studied and that a media center for such findings should be established.

(5) That professors in a discipline, such as geography, should give the student the unique tools necessary to teach that particular subject in the schools. These professors in the disciplines should work in close conjunction with professors of Education to establish efficient and meaningful teacher-training.

(6) That professors of Education and the disciplines should develop cooperative urban teacher education programs such as those now being developed by the Danforth Foundation Mid-Conference Lab, the Associated Colleges of the Midwest Urban Semester System, and the Tri-University Project itself. Such programs as these would utilize the services of colleges and universities, the schools, and especially the communities. A greater emphasis on community participation is needed, even to the point of influencing school curriculum and university methods course.

Changes in in-service teaching procedures are as important as changes at the pre-service level. The methods courses and pertinent student teaching experiences will be of little consequence if the schools in which our students eventually teach have not changed their methods and curricula to bring them into harmony with the innovations which the students have mastered in their training programs. With respect to in-service teaching, we believe:

(1) That the colleges and universities of America must accept responsibility for introducing and executing new innovations in the school systems. They must keep the schools informed about new methods of teaching a particular discipline and of disseminating the kind of information which is necessary if a teacher is to keep up with the latest research. Since the average teacher has the multiple responsibility of being researcher, writer, editor, and engineer, the university must at least be able to provide the latest research information to the teacher.

(2) That colleges and universities should assume the responsibility of observing their own graduates in their actual teaching positions to ascertain whether or not the techniques and information which the university values are actually being used.

(3) That universities and schools must work together in order to make certain that contemporary issues -- e.g. political and social issues -- are discussed in the classroom and in such a way as to assure that education will be pertinent and meaningful to the child. This might especially be accomplished through a team teaching approach involving both university and school people.

(4) That within the university system and the school system the various disciplines should interact in order to solve the real problems existing in particular schools. This would call for large scale in-service workshops and evaluation programs for each school, and it would call for the use of clinical professors referred to earlier.

(5) That universities must send their own professors to teach in the schools in order to refresh their knowledge of school procedures and to serve as professional teaching models for teachers. This would permit professors to introduce the latest teaching procedures and equipment such as video-tapes into a school system.

(6) That community leaders -- businessmen, doctors, people with particular skills -- should be used to help teachers instruct certain classes.

(7) That regional 'instant service centers' should be established as clearing houses for information, as places for quick dissemination of information in specialized areas, as centers which can give instant help in solving particular methods problems or retraining teachers. The present 'school studies councils' now operating in some areas could be easily changed to instant service centers.

(8) That state teachers associations should utilize the time and funds which normally go to very non-professional conferences in order to set up curriculum development and teaching technique workshops. Likewise, the material in their journals should be geared to the more professional concerns of curriculum development and teaching innovation.

(9) That adequate state and federal funds should be obtained to insure persistent quality programs in teaching -- and even that special salaries should be given to outstanding, innovative teachers.

We believe that by using these observations as guidelines for university and school teacher training, effective programs might be developed which would vastly increase the value of our system for schooling teachers both in Higher Education and in the schools.

IV

WHAT HAPPENS IN THE CLINICAL SCHOOL

A. Training the Teacher to Allow Kids to Think

Children's Thinking

William Lieurance, Curtis Osburn, Agnes Manney,
Grant Bateman, Frank Lanning, William Anderson

At the First National Conference of the Tri-University Project, Joe McVicker Hunt spoke of the implications of recent research in the behavioral sciences for the art of teaching children. Part of his address concerned the limitations implicit in common "behavior-shaping" or "operant conditioning" methods of encouraging learning:

> One view of this . . . kind of learning is to be found in the writings of Fred Skinner. At the present time you are hearing a great deal about his "shaping of behavior" and his "operant conditioning." Skinner's approach consists in eliciting desirable behavior and reinforcing it. What the reinforcement does is to increase the likelihood of the desirable behavior occurring in the setting in which the reinforcement is provided.
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> Reinforcement in Skinner's scheme is not a matter of reducing drive as it was with Hull and Freud. For Skinner and his followers, a reinforcement is any kind of event that will serve to decrease the time between a child's encounter with a situation and his emitting the behavior desired--the behavior desired by the experimenter, the teacher, of the authority figure. This approach has a great deal of power; it is an especially effective way of changing specific patterns of behavior. One of the newest ways of providing reinforcement is called the "Premack principle." One of Premack's studies was designed to get rats to produce unusual responses, for instance, putting their heads up or putting their heads back. What Premack did was to watch the rat until it made the movement of its head approximating that which he desired. When it made this motion, he provided the rat with a chance to run around in a wheel. Put in the generalized systematic language of Skinner: "If you give the individual or the animal a chance to do something which has a high probability of occurrence immediately after he has made a response of low probability of occurrence, you can increase the probability of the latter occurring." But what this means in the parlance of common sense is this: "If you want to get a youngster, or an animal to do something he has seldom done, get him to do something approximating that, and arrange to have this followed by an opportunity to do something he very much wants to do. By repeating the successive approximations, you can get the youngster to come closer and

closer to the desired pattern, and you can also get him to form the desired pattern quite regularly." I spent part of last Friday afternoon with Louis Bright who is the Assistant Commissioner of Education for Educational Research. He comes out of a background of electrical engineering into behavioral science. In our discussion of last Friday, he described work concerned with motivating adolescents who have dropped out of school to become interested again in things academic. After a great deal of fumbling, he and his staff at the Behavioral Laboratory of Westinghouse hit upon the Premack principle as a promising way of motivating these boys. In this case, the reinforcement consisted merely in letting the drop-out watch a couple of adolescent boys play chess; this was the high probability action. The drop-out was then taken into another room where he was asked to answer two or three questions with the promise that, once the questions were answered, he could go back out and watch the chess game. The procedure consisted in enlarging or lengthening the list of questions asked until, the first thing he knew, the adolescent was involved in a programmed learning schedule. In this approach, it was necessary to change the "high probability" reinforcements from the opportunity to watch a chess game to the opportunity to watch arithmetic games. Sooner or later, they managed to get the drop-out adolescent hooked on doing arithmetic. Mr. Bright made this story sound good, perhaps too good. One day I shall go down to Albuquerque and visit the laboratory where this approach is being tried.

I say this reinforcement system is powerful. I have seen teachers use it with youngsters where disciplinary problems have been exceedingly severe. One of the approaches is called a "token-reward system." This has been used with success by both Wesley Becker at the University of Illinois and by Ralph Wetzel at the University of Arizona. In this approach, each child has a sheet of cross section paper. Every time he achieves something constructive, the teacher stamps a star in one of those squares of the cross section paper. Or, if the youngster seated near him is acting up and causing trouble, the teacher ostentatiously puts a star in one of the squares on his paper and notes in loud voice how well he is working on the problem at hand. Nothing is said to the youngster causing the trouble; no punishment is given him, but he is given an opportunity to see that constructive behavior pays in that situation. This approach can get a classroom of children going. Down in Phoenix, Arizona, I saw such a classroom. It was a first and second grade combined. As I entered, the first grade kids had been out playing; the second grade kids had been taking regular achievement tests. When the first of the first graders came into the room and got into his chair, the teacher ostentatiously stamped a star in one of the squares on

> on his sheet, and said: "Charlie is the first one in his chair ready for work." The second of the first graders to sit down was a little girl. Again, the teacher ostentatiously rubber stamped a square on her token-reward sheet, and said loudly: "Ethyl was the second one in place, ready to work." The other first graders began to crowd in and take their seats. This business of pointing out and rewarding the model of behavior on the part of the first two kids in the group provided an excellent kind of control.
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> In another program, however, I had a chance to see still another kind of "control" exercise. In this other program, the children go through Dewey-like projects. The children are Mexican-American first-graders in a program devised by Professor Marie Hughes of the University of Arizona. Their Dewey-like projects consist of baking cookies, making ice cream, etc. They go through the project, then each one of them draws a picture of the process of the project and dictates a story of the project. The story is taken down on a poster typewriter by a program assistant and is also recorded on tape. Professor Hughes thereby gets a booklet from each project on which is recorded both the quality of the child's drawing and a record of his language performance in the dictation. By comparing the successive booklets from successive projects, one can readily see how both the quantity and the quality of each child's dictation increases. One can see the changes in syntax and vocabulary that come as the year progresses. Resorting to the tapes enables one also to hear progress in pronunciation of the English language . . . .

Mr. Hunt then urged a more open kind of procedure with children, an arranging of the environment of the school so as to promote surprise and questioning in the child and at the level where inquiry is possible to him:

> What I like to call "the Problem of the Match" is highly important in the strategy of teaching. This problem of the match we have already encountered in the matter of getting a model for imitation which is not less complex than the level of competence that the child has already achieved, that is neither too complex to be frustrating. *Frustration* and *disconfirmation* have always been major ways of inducing learning. They illustrate a principle of importance in this matter which I call the problem of the match. In educational circles, the match has been recognized by what has been termed "readiness." And "readiness" has typically been conceived to be a preparation for learning that comes via that process of maturation

> controlled entirely by heredity. The school itself commonly constitutes a fairly fixed set of environmental circumstances. Children in a given city are presumed to have approximately the same set of readinesses regardless of which side of the tracks they come from. It is clear, however, from comparisons of the linguistic and cognitive skills in children from the suburbs, that they differ markedly. Once this difference was attributed to differences in fixed intelligence. The children of the slums were simply stupid and poorly motivated, and this was considered to be the nature of the little brutes. Our tests of intelligence tend to bear this out, and when the children from the slums did less well in standard school environment than the children from the suburbs, they were still doing as well as could be expected--from the tests. From the standpoint of the interactionism, underlying the kind of points I have been making, such an interpretation of class difference is no longer sensible. Readiness for any given kind of teaching or encounter with circumstances is not a matter of fixed intelligence, it is a matter of the linguistic and cognitive skills which have been developed in the course of the child's life history. . . . On the whole, I contend that when the child is not interested, when he's bored, then one had better increase the complexity of the circumstances that that child is about to encounter. When he is frustrated, when he is angered, those circumstances are too complex. When he's interested, and even when he's somewhat surprised, one is probably on the right track.

Hunt then describes a program managed by Marie Hughes as representing his conception of what an elementary school program ought to be:

> In (Marie Hughes') program, the children got a great deal of verbal approval when they came up to show the teacher, the program assistant, or one of the aides, some accomplishment, but this was not reinforcement in the sense of being applied directly contingent with the action concerned. I found something interesting when I talked with the youngsters in Marie Hughes' program. I could get them involved in discussions about pronunciation in conversation; I could get them involved in talking about their projects. They had the same sort of interest in these projects as professional people have in their work. Now, when I talked to the students in the "token-reward" class, it was difficult to get them to talk about subject matter. In the "token-reward" approach, the child can trade a given number of stars stamped on the squares of his page for a prize. One of these brought me a boat that he had just won. It was hard to get this youngster to talk about anything except about how one wins prizes. I could not even get him to talk about what he would do with the boat. When I asked if he got into it in the bathtub, would it sink? he laughed in dumbfounded fashion, so

> apparently I was the freak in this system. Apparently, the important thing to learn was how to get prizes, and the children I talked to had certainly learned this by heart.

Finally, Hunt illustrated how questions are raised in a child's mind--how a child is moved to think:

> Most of you know Richard Suchman's techniques of 'inquiry training.' He trains children to ask questions through introducing an element of surprise. He hooks kids by presenting them with a three-minute picture of the collapsing varnish can. A little water is poured in the varnish can; the can is corked, put down, ice water is poured over it; the can collapses. Then Suchman gets the kids to asking questions.

The three groups of essays which follow are in a sense a developing of Hunt's theories. The New York University essays concerning "reflective thinking" suggest first how limited, and even dangerous, the application of behavioristic learning theories to human management may be and, second, they suggest how teachers may be trained to value intellectual independence by being trained to ask questions which contain meaningful paradoxes (or to set circumstances so as to bring the child to perceive a paradox). The New York University group in its essays also suggests how productive of intelligent thought on the part of children such questions may be. And, finally, they suggest the degree to which training teachers to ask the kinds of questions envisaged by their group depends on intelligent clinical arrangements. The essay by Messrs. Lanning and Zimmerman which follows the New York University essays is an examination of the question of how children may be asked to formulate questions meaningful to them in the area of the social sciences. It extends Mr. Hunt's interest in the "problem of the match" to the area of the Social Sciences. And Mr. Anderson raises the issue of what children intuit about poetry and what their "thinking about it" may add to their understanding of it. It analyzes children's poetry and looks at the analyses which children make when they are faced with the paradoxes of poetic language.

All three of these groups of essays suggest the desireability of our having people in the subject matter areas and in Education go into the schools to bring to the training of teachers the skill in asking questions and finding evidences which ought to have been the skill which first made them thinkers and scholars and which must be the basis of any honest teaching. Such people may be able to train teachers-to-be to ask real questions instead of phony ones. And kids who are asked real questions may come to be interested in answering them.

A Suggestion For Teachers When Machines Take Over

William Lieurance
University of Wyoming

> The principal goal of education is to create men who are capable of doing new things, not simply of repeating what other generations have done--
>
> The second goal of education is to form minds which can be critical, can verify, and not accept everything they are offered.
>
> So we need pupils who are active . . . who learn early to tell what is verifiable and what is simply the first idea to come to them.
>
> ---Piaget---

> Entering the culture is perhaps most readily done by entering a dialogue with a more experienced member of it. Perhaps one way in which we might reconsider the issue of teacher training is to give teacher training in the skills of dialogue -- how to discuss a subject with a beginner.
>
> ---Bruner---

* * *

I want to discuss the controversy concerning who should have the responsibility for teaching teachers and who should, therefore, work most intimately with public schools. There are several alternatives before us: colleges of education, a combination of education and liberal arts professors, the whole university, the public schools themselves. These alternatives are commonly suggested as proper seats of authority and responsibility for teacher education.

I will argue, however, that still another alternative force exists -- the giant corporations and their technological teaching systems -- and that this force will take over that large portion of education that considers mere coverage of content to be of primary significance

I have no doubt the I.B.M., Westinghouse, Rand, RCA, Xerox, General Learning Corporation, Raytheon, and the rest will be successful in selling large teaching systems to the staffs of public schools and institutions of higher education. From their point of view it seems proper, I am sure, to expect genuine innovation to appear from those with scientific know-how. When education is thought of as essentially the business of telling and explaining one carefully selected cultural heritage with its allied knowledge, it is commonplace to presume that business-run science is most efficient. In addition, the knowledge explosion appears to demand that we ensure the rapid absorption of knowledge which the application of technology implies is possible; and for the first time, the promise is held out that, for all practical purposes, complete accommodation of individual differences can be accomplished. A further argument for mechanized teaching systems, if needed, is that choice by local communities is facilitated, or, in fact, expedited, by the option to choose among systems programmed to tomorrow's equivalent of AAAS, ESS, or SCIC elementary science, CBA or CHEMS chemistry, transformational or structural grammar, ICSM, SMSG, or Maryland University math.

Any opportunity then for really effective opposition to the machine take-over will be overwhelmed, I believe, by at least the following collection of ideological forces: conservative educational groups, business efficiency, 'pour it in' and 'pour it on' educational objectives, sanctity of individual differences, and local control.

I suspect that very soon we will have an abundance of evidence to show that machines will teach any material which is a well-organized collection of distinct and definitive parts as well, or better than, the typical teacher or professor can. As this research piles up, the pressure will surely be on each educator to demonstrate that he can beat the machine. If he cannot, the first implication of his inefficiency would seem to be to quit and to get out of the way. At the present time, it seems that the areas of education and the liberal arts must succumb to the pressures of the machine. Education courses, in general, have been evaluated by many as being less than educational (I won't go into all that), and the notion that the liberal arts, where education is elegant and tough, can produce teachers has been seriously challenged. For example, James C. Stone found upon visiting 41 projects involving liberal arts and education professors that liberal arts courses needed much more done to make them appropriate for teachers. As a matter of fact, so did the education courses.[1] Informal reports to Tri-University seminars at New York University indicate that for the most part programs to provide certification for Peace Corps returnees, who have received a liberal arts education and who are committed to empathizing with ghetto children have, in the main, failed as have crash programs such as ITT designed to produce instant teachers out of dedicated liberal arts graduates.

My own informal surveys have shown generally that professors of educational methods must spend approximately 2/3 of their time teaching academic content in which students have already taken credit. My conviction in light of all this, is that the entire university, and not only the professional education segment of it, is in trouble. And the trouble is that students do not learn much, at least not much of what professors want them to learn.

Perhaps the behavioral science portion of the academy can beat the machine but the outlook now is up for grabs, so to speak. If, as noted in a recent collection of essays titled The Dissenting Academy,[2] the present conflict between proponents of value-free and value-laden social science continues, and if it is won by advocates of value-free science the outlook is high for almost complete programming of their curriculum. For any idea of science that rejects a general value orientation or value disagreements and claims objective truth exclusively its own, may certainly prepare, for programming, well-organized collections of discrete and definite parts proceeding neatly from small to large, concrete to abstract, known to unknown. These collections may be selected with an eye to producing certain behavioral outcomes, carefully listed, and guaranteed by the appropriate application of reward and penalty. The present application of this approach to the United States pacification program in Vietnam is evidence, according to the collection noted above, that a new elite of value-free behavioral scientists has gained access to power and that their perspective envisages modifying behavior toward predetermined behavioral outcomes by rewarding or punishing desires as they coincide or conflict with ours. Noam Chomsky speaks of the new mandarins, the value-free advocates, that is, who extrapolate from rat psychology to conclude that 'conditioning' of populations is more to our advantage than winning hearts and minds.

The split in the academic community provides two views, of course, the value-free or value-laden. The essays in The Dissenting Academy mentioned above are opposed to value-free behavioral science and show concern that the "academic's 'search for truth' has become compromised by his association with the centers of economic and political power." Theodore Roszak, the editor of the volume sums up the indictment as "mindless collaboration on the one hand and irrelevant research on the other." He objects to anthropologists working in the Army's Project Agile in Thailand in which an absolute monarchy is helped to maintain power. He opposes the flock of social scientists who were attracted to the government's Project Camelot, designed to subvert the revolutionary aspirations of Latin American underclasses. Among other essayists opposed to value-free science, Kathleen Gough dissents with current anthropology, Sumner Rosen with economists, Staughton Lynd with historians, Louis Kampf with literary critics, John Wilkinson with the philosophers, Robert Engler and Christian Bay with sociologists and political scientists. Roszak, to quote again, calls for an end to "fastidious but morally undirected research" along with the academic's pseudo-scientific and pseudo-objective pretentions. In place of a value-free social science characterized by a deplorable combination of "small-scale research backed by large-scale grants" (Engler's phrase), the volume suggests that the academic scholar "intervene in society for the defense of civilized values" and "clarify reality" so that citizens "can reason toward the solution of their problems." Science should embody an ideal as old as the Enlightenment: which, stated as a question reads, "How can we as intellectuals help men to live more fully and creatively and to expand their dignity, self-direction, and freedom?"

The ideal quoted sounds familiar to the ear of an educationist so I am led to pose the problem of what teachers can do when the machines take over. A clue to one possible answer may be gained by rephrasing the question to ask what can teachers do better than the machine? I would say to those who believe that sheer coverage of subject-matter constitutes education, that teachers, for the most part, are unnecessary or soon will be. They can do nothing of significance better than a machine. The programming of value-free subject matter should be pursued by them with all possible haste. The quicker large teaching systems can be installed the better. For those who believe, on the contrary, that science is not value-free, the Enlightenment ideal still holds promise. The educational tasks of value examination, the comparison and clarification of ideals, the evaluation and testing of attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge in light of the direction of their consequences and the evidence on which they rest may be, in combination, the role of an education worthy of a democratic society. When we consider the combination--examination, testing, clarification, evaluating--we are speaking of an education that seeks to promote a thoughtful, reflective individual capable of independent decision-making.

And this leads to the question: how is reflective decision-making taught? This question puts us squarely in educational methodology and professional education. If some professional educators have not pursued the problem of how to help students think, I believe they should begin. Those who have, are in considerable agreement that teacher education should provide students with opportunities for reflective examination and choice among competing alternatives. Certain of the choices necessary are those between the contradictory claims of various learning theories; for example, Skinner's reinforcement idea and Festinger's cognitive dissonance. Other choices involve competing notions of child development, of the proper function and criteria for choice of subject-matter, of various theories of democratic and authoritarian political systems, of sources of truth, of group dynamics, etc. The reflective consideration of alternatives and the value they imply should reach a climax in an integrated theory and practice of education. Such a pattern of integrated educational theory and practice when arrived at reflectively becomes a commitment.

I believe the building of these commitments to be the essential educational imperative and professional education to be the legitimate place for it to occur. When professional education assumes the role of implementing the methodology of reflection then the question, what can teachers do better than machines, is answered.

I presume that teaching methodology requires the selection of certain value-laden behavioral science content to serve as source material for an emerging science of education from which the art of teaching can evolve.

I see, at present, no convincing arguments that the ultimate responsibility for the education of teachers should reside in any other hands than those in professional education.

Footnotes

[1] James C. Stone, "Teacher Education: Reform or Rebirth," NEA Journal, (May, 1968), p. 24.

[2] Theodore Roszak, ed., The Dissenting Academy, (New York, 1968). Reviewed by Martin Duberman, "Double Indictment," New York Times, (March 17, 1968).

Where Machines Can't Go: Reflective Thinking

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> As Einstein has pointed out, common sense is actually nothing more than a deposit of prejudices laid down in the mind prior to the age of eighteen.
>
> Lincoln Barnett

> Doubt, not belief, is the positive process. Whatever is not doubted is believed.
>
> W. B. Pillsbury

> I respect faith but doubt is what gets you an education.
>
> Wilson Mizner

* * *

i.

Rationale of a Proposal for Implementing a Teaching Strategy For Reflective Thinking

Our society is an evolving democracy which depends upon the necessity of individual decision making and regards as desireable the development of various methods of problem solving. Reflective thinking would seem to be a most productive method of problem solving and decision making. Consequently, it could appear to be imperative that reflective thinking be enhanced, prompted, and taught in the public school beginning in the child's formative years of elementary education.

All too often, however, the search for the reflective is abandoned or forgotten in the daily instructional program of the classroom -- the covering of the textbook or material suggested by a course of study. At other times, teachers focus primarily on one or two of the thinking operations given by Raths: observing, comparing, classifying, hypothesizing, looking for assumptions, criticizing, imagining, collecting and organizing data, coding, problem-solving, decision making, summarizing, and interpreting.[1] While each of these operations is important, isolated experiences in their use do not make a child capable of serious reflection.

The purpose of one project of the NYU Tri-University group was to develop a theoretically sound, viable picture of 'reflection' which teachers could use in their regular classroom teaching without having to remember a long list of specific operations to be included. We concentrated on a simple model and technique, which, we believe, can be used successfully by all elementary classroom teachers. The underlying theoretical basis for the model we have developed relies heavily upon the work and ideas of Dewey, Hullfish and Smith, Bode, Bayles, Bigge and Hunt, Festinger, and Massialas and Cox. It may be useful to lay out some of their thinking about the process of thinking in a reflective fashion. Dewey defined reflective thinking as the "active, careful, and persistent examination of any belief, or purported form of knowledge, in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions toward which it leads."[2] Massialas and Cox refer to reflective thinking as the process of identifying problems of fact and value, assessing them in view of the assumptions in which they are grounded, and subjecting them to proof in terms of certain criteria.[3] Hullfish and Smith state that 'reflection' differs from the looser kinds of thinking primarily by virtue of its being directed or controlled by a purpose - the solution of a problem.[4] Unfortunately this is not always understood. Bigge and Hunt state that often "problem-centered teaching" has failed because what teachers have chosen as 'problems' have not actually been problems in a psychological sense. A learning problem is not just an objective issue to be resolved; it must involve psychological tension in a learner.[5]

For the learner, the psychological tension arises when he is induced to feel dissatisfied or in doubt as to one or more of his present attitudes, values, beliefs, or items of knowledge. Festinger refers to this dissatisfaction or loss of consistency and certitude as dissonance. He contends that the presence of dissonance is psychologically uncomfortable and therefore motivates the person to reduce it.[6] The learner's goal becomes his desire to remove doubt and restore certitude and consistency to his thoughts. Dissonance in the learner may be induced in many ways, but the model that has been proposed suggests the use of 'springboards' as a motivational technique.[7] The springboards contain an internal inconsistency which provides conflicting-path, no-path or forked-path situations.[8] This, in turn, produces a dissonance within the pupils. Examples of the springboards for reflective thinking are:

> On the surface of the earth you can go East, West, North and South from the equator. Then why can't you go all four directions from the North and South Pole?
>
> If Puritans wanted religious freedom and came to America to get it, why did they order Roger Williams to leave their colony when he wanted his own kind of religion?

Reflective thinking does not end with induction of psychological tensions and dissonance but must include two other steps. As Bode states, the complete act of thought includes: (1) raising and clarifying a problem; (2) finding an hypothesis (idea, suggestion, meaning, hunch as to a solution); and (3) testing steps, discovery-and-explanation and prediction-and verification.[9] Bayless says that thinking proceeds as alternative hypotheses (interpretations of facts) are formulated, and further facts deduced from those hypotheses, are submitted to test.[10] Thus, the proposed model contains the following crucial elements: problem raising, hypotheses finding, and hypotheses testing.

ii.

The Strategy for Reflection in Its Larger Education Setting

I want to begin by placing our model in a larger educational setting. The participants working with the reflective model assume that education is a value-laden enterprise. Certain of our values, therefore, need to be made clear: 1) the value of the process of reflective thought and the particular subject matter with which it is concerned is higher than the value of subject-matter coverage as conventionally conceived; 2) the high value customarily given pupil behavior that is ordered, tightly controlled, neat, pat, and predictable ought to be placed, instead, on pupil thinking even though it is unpredictable, surprising, sometimes chaotic, and often emotional; 3) the reflective process, and the educational objectives associated with it, are of higher value than reasonable statistical certainty of the results of teaching a simpler task. Unfortunately there are as yet no pre- and post-testing that measures change in learning how to learn, not to mention, love of learning.

The frank and open recognition that we prefer serious thinking even though it cannot be carefully structured, accurately pre-planned or rigidly controlled and that we place little significance on the orderly learning of a selection of discrete and measureable curriculum items is necessary if change is to occur. It is our contention that at present too many teachers believe that controlled orderliness of pupil tasks is the highest value; too many teachers believe that a curriculum contains knowledges, attitudes and skills, each of which is equally precious, and each of which must, in accordance with some private criterion, be covered; and, too many teachers believe that education must deal with that which is susceptible to paper and pencil tests, as if presently non-measurable attitudes and values children somehow come to, and the non-measurable growth in desire to hold beliefs supported by sufficient evidence were not more important concerns of a proper education.

The values guiding the members of this small group cannot be imposed, nor should they be. What teacher education should take as its most significant task is affording students the opportunity to arrive, by intellectual effort, at the values they will prize. Values should be the conclusions of rigorous study. If teacher education offers students the chance to become deeply involved in the examination of competing values and their implications for education we have no fear that values we prefer will not attract their fair share of adherents.

But, we insist, student agreement with our preferences of value will guide the kind of education our students undergo, but that kind of education will leave choice of value open to students. Whatever values students come to, we, in teacher education, should insure, with all the sagacity at our command, that student choice rests on thorough examination, comparison, evidence, logic and predicted consequences: in short, reflection of the most profound sort. We are attempting to be clear that education is a value-laden enterprise. We are attempting to communicate our chosen values and where they lead.

Our affinity to the essence of the democratic faith should be obvious. We assume that people when confronted with competing values, attitudes and beliefs in a free and open market place, choose, most often, a system of ideas that, in fact, constitutes a commitment to democracy and an acceptance of the attitudes that foster cooperation and mutual growth. There is considerable democratic tradition extant, coinciding with the emergence and advancement of science, that certain attitudes, predispositions or ways of life are good. These democratic-scientific attitudes may be fairly formulated as follows: individuals should, 1. give all points of view a chance, 2. affirm the fallibility of knowledge and belief, 3. offer ideas for public testing, 4. search for reasons and evidence, 5. assume cause and effect, and 6. suspend judgment when possible in cases of insufficient evidence.

Our case for reflective thinking then should be understood as being in the democratic-scientific tradition of how to manage the open confrontation of competing ideas. When the confrontation and the competition take place inside the learner's head, serious study will result in a personal commitment to the pattern of values, attitudes, beliefs and knowledges that emerge. And commitment to certain educational values and notions of teaching we believe are what guide and control teaching behavior. Any strategies of change that neglect the necessity for commitment to it by the individuals seeking change are certain to fail, or yield an unanticipated, and, probably, undesirable result.

Our small-group project has concerned itself with the problem of how to get competition of ideas going inside the learner's head. Since, in our view, this is essentially a psychological matter, we propose that the format of teacher questions make the most of the theoretical formulations that contend that thinking begins with bafflement, dissonance, psychological discomfort. We deliberately set out to expose or create contradictions, or paradoxes, or inconsistencies within the pupil. The learner's awareness of inconsistency of his own thought patterns creates a discomfort that propels him to do something about it. What he does in attempting to harmonize his disarranged mental furniture is greatly influenced by his teacher. She may let him rationalize, toss a coin, employ intuition or "common sense", seek an authoritarian answer, or claim revelation. She may allow, we admit, any source of truth she chooses. If, however, she values an education that seeks to enhance the reflective process within the broad democratic-scientific orientation, she must openly test what pupils do and say; her teaching must embody the democratic-scientific attitudes previously mentioned. Most importantly, she must not dictate or seek to impose her solutions, but, rather, assure herself that the pupil has examined evidence for and against, has accounted for other points of view and has achieved a reasonably clear notion of the consequences of the competing ideas.

Our model of problem raising, hypotheses finding and hypothesis testing is designed to guide and control children's conversation so that discussions are reflective and embody the educational notions just discussed. We want verbal language in the classroom to amount to something: we believe that classroom discussions should, like a good study, have some punch lines or like a good mystery, resolve itself as pieces fit together. Our model seeks to construct a compelling question in a troublesome area and guide ensuing talk along lines in which logic and evidence will play their necessary roles. The chief characteristic of the question, which we call a springboard question, is its internal inconsistency; it includes within itself conflicting elements of subject-matter, idea, belief or value with stark confrontation as direct, clear and sharp as language permits. The inconsistency, when accepted by the learner, propels the effort to produce harmony again through explanation, reconciliation, new evidence and logic, reconstruction of old views and invention of new views: in short, hypotheses. The learners' conversation reflects his acquaintance with culture and knowledge -- his mental furniture -- it gets aired out and exposed for challenge and testing, for this is what the teacher and classmates do. Rationalization may be largely avoided by persistent challenge -- the challenge of logic, of contrary evidence, of conflicting views, of pointed consequences.

Our model concentrates on the teacher skills of constructing questions and testing answers in order to manage, with positive educational effect, the dialogue and discussion of learners. Jerome Bruner states in a recent article that teacher education should train individuals in "problem finding." We agree. He expands the idea by stating that problems are the invention of an appropriate puzzle form to impose upon a trouble, that we need ways of thinking that convert troubles into problems, that we need to teach how to construct interesting puzzle forms in order to convert chaotic messes into manageable problems. We agree. We attempt to isolate and nail down clear and striking contradictions contained somewhere in troublesome, chaotic messes. The skill of seeking and isolating inconsistencies seems to be teachable. So are the skills of asking such questions and coping with suggested answers.

We have taped some examples of the puzzle form we call springboard questions. This tape contains a question found and constructed by a teacher and which, in accordance with our model, pointedly exposes an inconsistency. The class has been studying Negro history. Several appropriate history books have been used and the classwork -- except for the topic -- has been strictly conventional. Assuming this background, listen to the contradiction, or perhaps paradox, that her question emphasizes. She has been recalling all the Negroes studied and what the class has found out about their achievements. Then she says:

Teacher: The question we would like to discuss today is, after having studied Negro history, Negro contributions, why haven't these contributions been recorded in American history textbooks that we use today in public schools? Anyone have any ideas?

Pupil: Because then we thought that the whites are better than the Negroes; and that when they did something they still didn't do it so good that they should get it in books; and they didn't really record it too much and really notice it that much - probably - if a white man did that they would probably put it in books and it would be seen in all the books today.

Teacher: So you think that they considered the contributions minor?

Pupil: Right.

Teacher: Although they might not have been minor?

Pupil: . . . they really didn't do that because they were of a lower class that they weren't up to them and they just didn't feel like they were high enough, because they were Negroes. Not because that thing wasn't really good enough for them but because they were Negroes.

Later they clarify the fact that Negro history books do exist but are not of the mainstream of school work.

A child suggests that there may be something shameful about the truth, and that this shame explains the lack of Negro history in school books. This is challenged by a pupil who notes that shameful incidents not involving Negroes are included and so shame, as such, is not a sufficient answer.

Teacher: Jimmie:

Pupil: Also . . . there are so many Negro children in public schools now and it's kind of hard for me to explain but everybody feels like there's something about the truth that nobody should know. Like, . . . if a Negro child read about Negro slaves being tortured maybe that child might be affected by it or something, that's maybe why they don't put the whole of it in the textbook.

Teacher: Are you trying to say that perhaps we are a little ashamed of what happened?

Pupil: Maybe.

Pupil: We are.

Pupil: Everybody's going to take it from their own point-of-view. The British are going to say they were right in hanging Nathan Hale.

Pupil: But we are going to say they weren't. Because he was an American problem. So we can't expect the British to say they were sorry for hanging him. Because they thought it was right.

Teacher: All right.

Pupil: So maybe we are ashamed of him being hanged.

Pupil: But still a lot of things we wrote down in history that we aren't ashamed of so why shouldn't we write them down?

On the last piece of tape the children suggest that only old textbooks omit Negro history. The teacher challenges their contention.

Pupil: But the textbooks are probably so old you'd not really know.

Pupil: 15 years ago --

Teacher: I have a book that was written in 1963 and it gives very, very little about the Negro in the revolution or the Negro until present day. Most of it is concerned with the Negro as a slave in the revolution and that's it.

There are segments of this tape in which everyone suddenly was talking at once and demonstrated that the discussion was out of hand and somewhat chaotic. The chaos was temporary, however, because even student teachers seem to be able to restore order by refocusing on the question, providing it is sharp and clear.

I close by referring again to comments by Bruner.[12] He says,

> There are doubtless many ways in which a human being can serve as a vicar of the culture, helping a child to understand its point of view and the nature of its knowledge. But I daresay that few are so potentially powerful as participating in dialogue.

Later Bruner continues,

> Entering the culture is perhaps most readily done by entering a dialogue with a more experienced member of it. Perhaps one way in which we might reconsider the issue of teacher training is to give the teacher training in the skills of dialogue -- how to discuss a subject with a beginner.

Footnotes:

1. Louis E. Raths, et. al. Thinking and Teaching (Columbus, 1966).

2. John Dewey, How We Think (Boston, 1933).

3. Byron G. Massialas and C. Benjamin Cox, Inquiry In Social Studies (New York, 1966).

4. H. Gordon Hullfish and Philip G. Smith, Reflective Thinking: The Method of Education (New York, 1967).

5. Morris L. Bigge and Maurice P. Hunt, Psychological Foundations of Education (New York, 1968).

6. Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Evanston, Illinois, 1957).

7. Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf, Teaching High School Social Studies (New York, 1955).

8. Bigge and Hunt, Psychological Foundations and Education

9. Boyd H. Bode, Fundamentals of Education (New York, 1921).

10. Ernest E. Bayles, Democratic Educational Theory (New York, 1960).

11. Jerome C. Bruner, "Culture, Politics, and Pedagogy," Saturday Review (May 18, 1968).

12. Bruner, "Culture, Politics, and Pedagogy."

Implementation of the Reflective Strategy In Teacher Education

By Agnes Manney
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> Thinking is, or ought to be, a coolness and a calmness; and our poor hearts throb, and our poor brains beat too much for that.
>
> Herman Melville

> Thinking is the hardest work there is, which is the probable reason why so few engage in it.
>
> Henry Ford

> There is no expedient to which a man will not resort to avoid the real labor of thinking.
>
> Sir Joshua Reynolds

It is one thing to recognize the value of the reflective process as the method of education; it is quite another thing to get teachers to use this method in teaching. There are at least two important reasons why this is so. (1) Generally teachers have not been taught this way themselves. Particularly, their most recent experience as students in college has required memorizing material presented to them rather than reflecting on problems as a way to reaching decisions. They were filled with material to be used at some future time. (2) In education courses teachers may have been introduced to reflective thinking as a method of teaching, but they had no practical experience in applying it. The teachers' experiences therefore preclude reflective thinking as a way of working with children. Teachers need to experience the reflective process if they are to use it as a method of teaching.

Use of the reflective process as a method of teaching courses in educational foundations, educational psychology, curriculum and methods could have considerable impact on teacher training. A student would learn to make suggestions, to give reasons, to explain, to employ his knowledge in decision making and problem solving. The student's use of the reflective thinking process would insure his motivation for learning and for acquiring and polishing skills.

During this past year in the Tri-University Project, we tried an exploratory project with elementary teachers in implementing the model for reflective thinking with their classes. The objective of this project was to develop sound and/or video recordings to illustrate the crucial elements of the model of the reflective process emphasizing problem raising, hypothesis finding, and hypothesis testing. The project was to demonstrate how teachers can initiate pupil reflection even at those times when pupil questions are insignificant, inappropriate, or, as sometimes happens, unarticulated. The recordings and transcripts obtained from classrooms and the supplementary written materials are intended for use in elementary teacher preparation programs. These materials are intended to contribute to greater efficiency and effectiveness in the methodology related to the reflective thinking process.

Sound tape recordings permit study of the verbal moves made by the teacher in using the model with children and of the responses and contributions of the children participating in the discussion. Video tape recordings, which we were not able to obtain, would be valuable in showing the non-verbal aspects of classroom communication.

To proceed with the project we obtained permission to work with teachers in an elementary school. Time permitted only two meetings with the teachers who were interested in working in the project. The project was explained, particularly the model for reflective thinking, the format of questions to be used in problem raising, and the teacher's role in hypothesis finding and testing. Each teacher was given a written description of the project and a list of sample questions phrased to highlight dissonance or controversy. It was suggested that teachers use questions from this list to initiate discussion with their classes, but they might form questions directly from their class activities. It was also suggested that they choose questions involving subject matter with which they felt well prepared.

Teachers initiated questions with their classes (or with small groups) when they felt they were ready to do so. No further guidance or assistance was given teachers. The discussions were tape recorded and transcriptions were made from the tapes. These transcriptions and the sound recordings were analyzed and evaluated with particular reference to the three aspects of the reflective process model. After teachers had tried the process, they were interviewed to obtain their reactions to this way of teaching.

On the basis of our observations from these initial efforts, we know that the model of the reflective process and its teaching strategy of dissonance must be carefully developed with students (or teachers) through a series of carefully planned steps. The members of this project plan to implement with students in our classes at an NYU summer institute and at our institutions during the coming year. One such plan includes the following procedures:

1. Acquaint students with the philosophical assumptions, crucial elements, and techniques of the model through illustrations and explanation.

2. Have students search elementary or secondary curriculum materials for contradictions, then predict child responses to the contradictions, and invent ways to test or challenge those responses.

3. Have students employ the model through role playing using materials from step 2.

4. Have students employ the model with a small group of children, recording the effort on sound or video tape for replay and discussion.

5. Encourage students to develop ideas they may have for their effective work with children using the reflective process.

6. Continue recording sessions; evaluate and select material to illustrate and demonstrate the model.

Evaluation of the Strategy To Promote Reflective Thinking

By Grant Bateman
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> The mass of men must be leavened by individuals who are self-moving, who do not habitually conform, who question not only the conclusions but the premises and the character of evidence, who raise disturbing doubts, who imagine unexpected theories . . . who are not afraid to be wrong, and do not become panicky if they are alone.
>
> Walter Lippman

A recommendation for change in a teaching strategy concerning the use of reflective thinking carries with it the implications that a review and evaluation of, and possible changes in teacher education programs are needed. My charge is to describe some of the basic characteristics of our evaluation procedures, and to share with you some of the results of our initial work in elementary classrooms.

It will be remembered that the reflective thinking model was composed of three major elements which provided us with the bases for evaluation, inasmuch as we wanted to discover to what extent elementary school children could suggest hypotheses and then recommend ways of testing them when confronted by a problem situation -- in this case, a specially developed question with a built-in inconsistency. We evaluated the extent of involvement of the children, and the quantity, quality, and relevancy of their contributions. While we primarily concerned ourselves with the children's work, we realized that the quality of the children's contributions represented in no small part the skill of the teacher, and the degree of effectiveness implementing the reflective model. In this evaluation, we shall thus be concerned with both student and teacher.

Analyses of the sound tapes revealed the following information: Children from both the primary and intermediate grades -- in this project, grades one and five -- demonstrated commendable capabilities in raising and testing hypotheses (see examples of Osborn and Lieurance above). It was apparent that if the children were skillfully guided and challenged, they would move beyond the expedient or comfortable solutions to problems, toward more divergent patterns of thought. It was also apparent that the children had available, and utilized appropriately, a variety of thinking skills -- among them, classifying, comparing, analyzing, criticizing, interpreting, and summarizing.

Two rather interesting analogies developed during the discussions. A group of first graders was struggling with a problem dealing with a choice among sources of authority. It was decided that a veterinarian, rather than a neighbor or storekeeper, would be the best source for information about a pet. One first grade boy tried to explain why he felt the veterinarian was the best source through the use of an analogy using education and chain reaction which was recorded as follows:

Teacher: He went to a special school to learn about how to take care of animals.

Pupil: Yes.

Teacher: All right, now, Jason, what's your question?

Pupil: I said, but how do they know?

Teacher: They, meaning who?

Pupil: How does the school know?

Pupil: They went to a school and it was a chain reaction.

Pupil: How did the other school know?

Teacher: Explain it.

Pupil: It was a chain reaction.

Teacher: Well, explain your chain reaction so that we know.

Pupil: Well, a chain reaction, you know what I do with the dominoes? I line them up, and then I cut them down like that. Look, I'll do it just with three.

Teacher: You need to do it with words at this point.

Pupil: I'll do it with three.

Teacher: All right.

Pupil: See, now I'll show you.

Demonstration

Pupil: That was a chain reaction.

Teacher: All right, but now explain it to us.

Pupil: Well, a chain reaction is something that happens over and over again. Like my mother talks to my father, and he gets mad, and he talks to Ada [his secretary]. He says something bad to her, and she gets mad . . . .

Teacher: All right, now explain the chain reaction in terms of the veterinarian.

Pupil: I told you.

Teacher: Explain it like you did in terms of your mother and father. The veterinarian goes to college --

Teacher: To learn about how to take care of pets. And who does he learn from?

Pupil: A teacher.

Pupil: And the teacher learns from another teacher.

Pupil: Yeah, and that's a chain reaction.

Pupil: How does everybody know though?

Pupil: How does the first person know?

Pupil: That's what I was going to say.

Teacher: Well, let's think about that. How does the first person learn? How do you think the first person learns about the animals?

In a fifth-grade class faced with the dilemma of the racial identification of a heart transplant case -- a Negro heart in a white body -- one student proposed the following analogy:

Pupil: The body of a car. If you transplant a kidney or something it's like transplanting one of the carburetors or something. Well, when you transplant the brain, it's like transplanting the motor, and it moves in a completely differentway.

Teacher: It's a great analogy.

Pupil: It's just like if you put a 1968 Dodge Charger motor in a 1935 Dodge. The Dodge will go like this. (Demonstration) Real fast. . . .

Pupil: Well, when you think, the Negro that gave the heart, he was, he was half white and half Negro. Well, the man that received the heart, wouldn't he be, how much -- Hold it? How much, if you cut half of the heart and half that will make him half white -- more white than Negro, because only half of him is Negro and half of him is white.

In another discussion situation, a fifth-grade student commenting on the subjective nature of history speculated about its value as a reliable source of information. "What is the source of facts?" he inquired. A reading of a source book such as Steward Holbrook's Lost Men of American History might have confirmed the child's worst fears about sources. At the same time, it may have lead him subsequently to a more rigorous examination of the types of evidence available to him.

According to teachers interviewed, there were positive reactions from the children to both the questions and to the discussions related to them. They did not find that children avoided material that seemed somewhat baffling to them, nor did they hurry to solutions through rationalized answers. They challenged and were challenged by their peers and their teachers as well. It is possible that there is little justification to warrant the fear often expressed that elementary children will retreat from baffling or uncomfortable situations, or that they will become frustrated through incisive, direct teacher or pupil challenge in problem situations. It remains for the sensitive teacher, of course, to be aware of individual children's threshholds of tolerance. Almost certainly they are higher than we have formerly assumed.

Conversations with the teachers indicated little familiarity with the notion of cognitive dissonance in children's thinking. It was difficult to them to point to any particular course or discipline that dealt with the idea. They, therefore, exhibited some insecurity and lack of finesse in implementing the model. One capable beginning teacher --

a philosophy student with a respectable number of hours in philosophy -- and supposedly, a working familiarity with dissonance and challenge, explained her difficulty as follows:

> Teacher: It's a funny thing. Especially when I had a vision of myself as something other than turned out on tape. I thought: this is a simple thing. All I have to do is be myself. After all, this is as natural to me as breathing. Then I got in the class, and I found out that I can't just go into it. I don't know why. Maybe it was a combination of what the children expect of teachers and what I expected of myself.

Because of their weak background preparation, teachers felt insecure in dealing with the process of reflection. But they did express enthusiasm for the approach. When questioned about the value of the 'dissonant' question, compared, for example, to the more conventional 'why' questions, they commended the reflective method. The first-grade teacher compared the questions:

> Teacher: I think that the 'why' question is easier for them . . . . I get the feeling (I'm thinking of these particular children, they tend to be very verbal) that they're ready to answer questions. They want to answer questions . . . . I've had to work . . . very hard from the beginning to get them to listen to each other. And at the beginning of the year everybody was interested only in his idea or his question . . . . Well, it really took day by day . . . work, a kind of pointing out, 'let's listen to so and so.' They finally reached the point where they were able to listen and carry on back and forth, an exchange kind of thing. When the question is why, immediately it says, 'I can give an answer.' This kind of question tends to say 'you have to think a little bit, you know, before the answer comes.'

Two fifth-grade teachers found it impossible in one discussion to arrive at any 'pat-answer' conclusions, and recognized opportunities presented by the questions for an expression of individual feelings and beliefs. They were asked if this represented a strength of the reflective process, and the reply was:

Teachers: Yes, very much, because it's going to make you think. Not only that, but it makes you see that there are differences of opinion, and that everyone has a right to his opinion, and that there are no pat answers to anything, except your very basic things. And the kids come out of this -- but I think what people are afraid of is that sometimes it leads to very chaotic situations. They uncover truths that I don't think people really think of -- they like to put back somewhere in the back of their minds, you know.

Inter: Because it's comfortable to have an answer.

Teacher: Yes.

Inter: And we're saying, of course, maybe we don't want people to be too comfortable in this process, because the best thinking might not be comfortable.

Teacher: They did come out with some things . . . [that] I think they didn't know about themselves; expecially this Negro situation with the Negro history. These kids have ideas that they get from their parents, and they speak them out, and then when they hear themselves and what other kids have to say, everything is in a turmoil for them, and they start thinking of different things. They grasp all the information they can, and then that becomes theirs and they look about for different truths.

The problems in implementing the model as expressed by the teachers, and in addition to those described above, were similar to problems associated with handling any classroom discussion; among them, keeping the topic in focus, moving forward, and classroom pupil control. Evidence from the tapes would indicate that improvement comes through continued use of the model. That is to say, teachers with a clearly-formulated initial question seemed better able to maintain a satisfactory flow of discussion. They also became more proficient in taking cues from the children's comments for purposes of challenge, clarification, and discussion development. The area of hypothesis testing, which did not seem as clearly defined on the discussion tapes as other elements of the model, needs special teacher attention.

In summarizing the work of the project to this point, we might say that elementary school children have the competencies that allow them to deal effectively with hypothesis raising and testing; that they seem interested and challenged by the activity; and that they utilize a variety of thinking skills in the solution of problems. Teachers, for the most part, were unfamiliar with the nature of the model of the dissonance concept on which it was based. They recognized strengths in the model, found satisfaction in implementing it, and delineated what they felt were special competencies needed for satisfactory implementation. The returns, in terms of pupil and teacher interest and involvement, they felt, represented a unique contribution of the model. In terms of the potential for further exploration and research on reflective thought, we recognize that larger segments of the elementary school population must be used; that careful analyses of classroom interaction must be recorded; and that comparison must be made between this particular model and other models available in the area. Hopefully, the combined efforts of all who share a genuine concern for young children and the ways they think will contribute to greatly improved teaching strategies, and ultimately influence the institutions responsible for the training of teachers.

The "Problem of the Match" In Social Studies Innovation

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Individualizing instruction to meet learner needs and background is basic to effective social studies education. In seeking ways to deal with this complex problem, it may be profitable to examine an idea that might be referred to as the 'match.' The concept of the 'match' is based on J. McV. Hunt's idea that growth in learning takes place when there is a match between the learning environment and the child's experience and the conceptual schemata. Hunt's concept not unlike the familiar idea that one should 'take the child where he is.' As a result of many investigations in child development and the psychology of learning over the past three decades, we have much data on individual pupils today. This information has given direction to a search for ways to find a good match between the pupil and what he is asked to learn. Our purpose in this paper is to broaden the concept of the 'match' and explore the possibilities of applying it to innovations being developed and used in social studies.

i

Match and the Process Approach to Social Studies Education

Discovery, inquiry, problem solving, investigation, and induction are some of the terms being used to denote the process approach to social studies. In his book, Toward a Theory of Instruction, Jerome S. Bruner states that "each generation must define afresh the nature, direction, and aims of education to assure freedom and rationality for future generations; therefore, education is in a constant process of invention."[1] We are doing this now, using Bruner's own theories and those of Hunt and Piaget and Taba.

Numerous advantages are claimed for process approaches over the more traditional methods of teaching:

(1) The child's motivation is enhanced as the responsibility for learning is shifted to the pupil.

(2) The search for knowledge is rendered open-ended, allowing for more divergent thinking.

(3) New learnings are built directly on the previous experiences of the pupils.

(4) Children are more often led to recognize the limitations of their knowledge as they search for answers to difficult problems.

(5) Children taught by the various process approaches tend to show an increased long term retention and an enhanced ability to transfer learning.

The problem-solving method is an approach to the teaching of social studies that has been widely recommended, but it may not guarantee an adequate match between the teaching procedure and the pupil's needs. The teacher's concern for match in the problem-solving approach has usually been a concern as to whether the problem proposed is 'relevant' to the child. This global concern has tended to obscure the fact that there may have been individual differences among children, and that there is, therefore, a need for the finding of the match for each child and at each of the major steps involving problem solving.

Gagne has recently described the differences which we may need to consider as we look at the question of the match at each level or step in problem solving. A typical model for problem solving may have the following steps:

(1) A statement of the problem.

(2) A definition of the problem by distinguishing important features.

(3) A formulation of the hypothesis.

(4) A verification of the solution.

The first step in problem solving may bring into play two factors which may differ from individual to individual -- the amount of information stored, and the ease of recall -- Gagne states that, "One person is better at solving a problem than another because he knows more and because he can recall more rules and concepts without getting them confused than can others."[2] The problem of finding the match then becomes one of setting the problem within the range of a child's knowledge in order to accommodate his background of experience and information. In step two, a definition of the problem, the individual difference may arise with respect to the ability to distinguish the important features of the problem. The third step, 'a formulation of the hypothesis,' depends, in part, on the facility with which individuals combine rules into new hypotheses. At this stage there also may be differences in the ability of individuals to retain the 'solution model.' Finally, at the stage of 'a verification of the solution,' the individual is expected to have the ability to assign specific instances to the class represented by the solution and reject those instances not representative. Again, all children do not possess this ability in the same degree.

It would seem then that 'the problem of the match' as related to the use of various problem-solving or inquiry models is not simply a problem which requires that one say that 'this model is appropriate or relevant to the child.' Rather our argument suggests that some analysis of the steps which are part of various inquiry or problem-solving models is needed to determine the appropriate skills required at each level if one is to recognize the individual differences which may be part of developing at each level and to match one's learning expectations with the 'style' and understanding of the child.

Though there is widespread enthusiasm for the various process approaches, research has not provided conclusive evidence that these procedures adequately satisfy the cognitive and affective needs of children. Some psychologists and educators have questioned the premise that 'inquiry' or 'discovery' approaches can be efficient for everyone. Friedlander has pointed out that we tend to overlook the significance of the limitations attendant upon the younger child's inability to think in an orderly or systematic sequence when we propose that he should have 'enhanced opportunities to work productively on his own.' He also refers to the problem of individual differences: some children operate intuitively and others analytically. He urges, then that we should not neglect some segment of our children in focusing exclusively on process approaches. The problem of 'finding the match' then may be a problem of identifying what a child can do at each stage of the problem solving process and what guidance he needs to do 'his best.'

ii

Match and the Curriculum Strategies in Social Studies -- The Cognitive Domain

The concept of the 'match' as it relates to some of the new strategies in social studies curriculum has its origin in basic research. From the work of Piaget, Bruner, and other theorists have come new insights into the intellectual growth patterns of children which suggest that many basic principles and concepts from the disciplines may be properly introduced in a structured manner early in the child's education. Hunt and Almy have stressed the importance of rich and varied experiential stimuli in early childhood as essential to the organization of sensory and perceptual experiences into more complex levels of thinking; and Rogers, Maslow, and Combs have contributed to a growing awareness of the significance of attitudes toward the self and others as vital to the realization of individual potential. These developments imply a new look at the content of existing programs, and at the same time point up the need for richer programs for children whose experiential backgrounds are limited in variety and quality.

Now the designers of the new curricula in the social sciences are aware of the existence of differences in learning styles, background, values, and cognitive schema; but this awareness is not always reflected in practice. The basic question remains, "Will the new social studies curricula assist in individualizing instruction?" Vincent Rogers[3] who has worked closely with a Project Social Studies Center, states that, "While we know more about the individual child, we tend to teach more and more uniformly." The remark could have been made about the new social studies curricula. They have not always, it seems, addressed themselves directly to the problem of individualized instruction. But, at the same time, the potential for individualizing is with us. New facts and concepts from the social sciences disciplines have greatly increased the sources of potential content for the social studies curriculum. Taking a cue from Bruner, curriculum designers have asked scholars from each of the several social sciences to identify key concepts and/or structures through which each discipline may be understood. Our emphasis on key or basic concepts has had the effect of reducing the number of facts and concepts to a point where 'matching' may be possible. To a certain extent the curriculum strategy of using basic concepts from the social sciences in conjunction with a simple-to-complex spiral design makes it possible to match the complexity of a concept to the cognitive level of a child. The matching, however, cannot specifically be made by the curriculum designer. It must be made by the teacher who has some awareness as to the readiness of a child to learn a concept at a particular cognitive level. Thus, the teacher who attends to the problem of 'matching' may be able to obtain an effective balance between the demands of the curriculum and the cognitive and affective needs of the child. The problem of 'finding the match' is thus basically a problem in training teachers who know how children learn.

iii

The Match and the Affective Domain

There has been little evidence that schools have been able to deal effectively with the emotional needs of the children and with their ability to make value judgements. With respect to the making of value judgements, Brameld noted four possible reasons for this apparent neglect. The first is that we encourage a curriculum that concentrates on so-called objective knowledge and skills, thus safeguarding teachers from touching dangerous territory of values and the value judgements. Second, we in education today reinforce the complacency and apathy so characteristic of the American mood. Third, our teacher education fails to prepare teachers to adequately work in the affective domain. Finally, experimentation and innovation have not fared as well as they might have.

Can a child's values be developed by the teacher? Torkelson believes they may be developed successfully if the teacher provides learning experiences that promote personal involvement and require overt responses to, and objective examination of, the factors involved in the value judgement.

To consider the match in the affective domain implies that the learning environment must not only be meaningful to the child as a thinker, but also to the child as a creature of desire and emotion. The learning environment then must be individualized, i.e. matched to each child's sense of what he needs. Such a learning environment can be prepared, in at least five ways by:

(1) Stressing a supportive climate. All children need some degree of support or encouragement in their learning tasks.

(2) Assuring come degree of success for all children. The need to achieve or be successful is an important motivating factor.

(3) Setting up opportunities for children to examine and clarify their values.

(4) Supplying experiences that would help children develop positive self-concepts.

(5) Including more emphasis on creative or aesthetic experiences that allow children more self-expression.

iv

Match and Programed Instruction for Social Studies

We may tend to think of programed learning as providing for 'the match' and yet as being terribly sterile. Lauren Resnick has stated, "That programed instruction as it bears upon the social studies must be assessed as a field of great potential and little realization . . . . The task of producing programs both significant in their content and effective in their teaching procedure is an imposing one."[4] Despite the difficulties there has been some progress. An example of progress in developing a program with significant and effective teaching procedure is the unique program in social studies, *Sumerian Game*, which has been developed by Bruce Moncreiff. Essentially, the game involves children in making decisions for the developing country of Sumeria. The education objectives cluster around two main themes: (1) the understanding of the processes at work in a developing civilization, and (2) the developing of the ability to make decisions regarding multifactored situations which take account of several conflicting values or goals.

Such a program may allow us to achieve the goal of matching the 'learning environment' to the 'cognitive schema' of the child. However, uncritical and unimaginative use of programed material may prevent the attainment of match in the fullest sense. Too often children using program materials pass through a single instructional path, the rate of learning being the only individualizing factor. Allowing for only *the rate of learning* does not adequately match the content to be learned with the characteristics and needs of children. But the work which we are doing in programed instruction is becoming increasingly sophisticated in its attempts to deal with 'the problem of the match' for the individual child. An example of this is the development of a new program called Individual Prescribed Instruction. Here programing principles are applied to the total school curriculum. And at two very significant points, especially: first, "the program endeavors to place the pupil at the point in the learning sequence which is appropriate for him, and it endeavors to accommodate his program to his needs."[6] Secondly, the actual instructional content is programed for the individual by developing a series of "frames, learning tasks, or learning experiences in accordance with the developers' best judgement of what will make for effective learning. frames later modified as the actual performance of students indicates that modification will be useful."[7] Thus, the attempt to make a match takes place at both the theoretical level and at the level of the actual performance of the child.

The problem of the match should become the central theme for improving programed instruction in the social studies. Keeping this in mind, much work remains to be done if we are to determine what content, skills, and processes in the social studies will lend themselves to programed instruction.

V

Match and Cognitive Strategies for Social Studies: Non-Programed Curricula

For centuries man has been concerned with improving his ability to think. Twentieth century man has been no exception. In 1910, John Dewey helped educators focus their attention on the process of thinking when he published his book, How We Think. More recent concern for the improvement of thinking has been evident in the work of Bloom et al., in classifying levels of thinking and in the research of Taba, Bruner, Gallagher, Guildord, and others. Out of the many studies in the area of improving the cognitive processes of children the work of Taba is one of the few that has used social studies directly for this purpose. In developing a new social studies program for Contra Costa County Schools she was able to incorporate into her program what she identified as three significant tasks:

(1) Concept Formation. This is seen in the overt activities of listing, grouping and labeling.

(2) Interpretation of Data. This includes the activity of identifying and explaining points and making inferences.

(3) Application of Principles. This can be observed in children when they try to predict consequences, explain and support hypotheses, and verify the predictions.

Some of the ways the Taba project handles the problem of match are by: (1) using content that is relevant to the child's experience; (2) using a wide variety of learning experiences, including open-ended ones; and (3) allowing enough time for each cognitive task so that most or all the children gain experience before going on to the next higher task.

Her work may be the best that we have. We do not know what better curricula will come. We do know that they will be based on sound scholarship, that they will allow for divergence of thinking as between student and student, that they will allow the child to work with concrete objects and artefacts as he works his way through to a conception of what makes a society tick. We also know that teachers will have to make every curriculum new in their own classrooms and for each child.

Footnotes:

1. (Cambridge, 1966), p. 53.

2. Robert M. Gagne, "Human Problem Solving: Internal and External Events," Problem Solving: Research Method and Theory, ed. Benjamin Kleinmantz (New York, 1967), p, 138.

3. Carl R. Rogers, "The Fully Functioning Self," Perceiving Behaving Becoming. ASCD Yearbook (Washington, D.C., 1962), p. 42.

4. Lauren B. Resmick, "Programed Instruction and the Teaching of Social Studies Skills," Skill Development in Social Studies, ed. Helen McCracken Carpenter (1963), p. 272.

5. Matthew B. Miles, ed. Innovations in Education (New York, 1964), p. 246.

6. C. M. Lindval and John O. Blovin, "Programed Instruction in the Schools: An Application of Programing Principles in Individually Prescribed Instruction," Programed Instruction (Chicago, 1967), p. 243.

7. Lindval and Blovin, "Programed Instruction. . . ," p. 231.

8. Bruner, The Process of Education, p. 53.

Poetry in the Elementary Classroom

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Poetry as perception is uniquely related to cognitive development; and as such must play a dominant role in the elementary curriculum. The metaphorical and analogical nature of poetry, so allied to the essence of myth-making by which culture is generated and transmitted, can be a governing part of the business of creating a picture of the world in the child's developing imagination. The importance of symbolization and representation is indicated when we consider that:

> We construct a representation of the world for ourselves, and we act in the real world via that representation. What is happening, happens even while we react to it, and is lost, but the representation goes on.[1]

Furthermore, the sound of poetry adds its own richness to what we now understand is a need of English instruction to appeal to the heightened oral and aural abilities of the child.[2]

Unfortunately, the poems customarily used with children do not always approximate the standards of quality applied to adult poetry. That is to say, there are certain necessities of metaphor, imagery, and diction for any poem to be judged 'good' or effective. The selection of poems to be used in the primary grades, on the contrary, seems to be governed rather more by the need for good advice in rhyme, or poems which will fit certain special occasions such as Columbus Day, or a rainy day, or Washington's birthday, or which will be 'fun.' Not to say that poems shouldn't be fun; but instead of choosing poems for children from a critical sense of the poetically rich, there seems to have been some misguided sense by teachers, editors, anthologies, etc., that poetry is either a game or propaganda. Instead of meaningful poetry, children are too often left with the mediocre which goes under that ambiguous tag 'Children's Poetry': skipping bunnies, fluffy kittens, pink piggies and the rest.

To be sure, there are notable exceptions to this: Frost's You Come Too, Dunning's Reflections on a Gift of Watermelon Pickles, and Bogan's The Golden Journey are three collections of authentic poems. They are good in the ways that adult poetry is said to be good. But still there is the open suspicion in my mind about some lack of success in teaching poetry in the elementary and secondary grades. This is largely induced, I suppose, by my continual wonderment at how little college freshmen seem to know about poetry. This sentiment is likewise inherent in another discussion of this same topic:

> . . . And it is poetry -- that bugbear which many readers and teachers claim they cannot understand, much less enjoy . . . . Why, then, is poetry alone of the arts so neglected? . . . For many teachers it presents a bewildering subject.[3]

The problems, then, seem to be two: 1) the choice of poems, 2) the method of instruction.

Perhaps some working descriptions of poetry can ease some of the 'bewilderment' as well as suggest some other choices of poems to be used in the classroom. Doubtless the thrust of the argument can be even more telling if derived from a comparison of a poem by a child with that of a master poet. To proceed, then, here are two haiku: one is by a nine-year-old girl, and the other is by Ezra Pound:

In a Station of the Metro

----Ezra Pound

Haiku

The trees cry sadly
Because the north wind
blows cold
And brings much sorrow.
----Deedee

First let's consider the poem by Pound. Pound has first seen faces in the crowd of the subway station in Paris, and he wants to create in the reader an awareness of 1) what he saw 2) how he felt about what he saw. The second word of the poem, "apparition," begins to do this. Because "apparition" means not only 'ghostly,' but also anything which has a particularly startling appearance, the faces must have struck Pound with some kind of aesthetic shock. Then Pound goes on to say that they were like "petals on a wet, black bough." In this line, the major emphasis is on the contrast between the delicate petals and the color of the branch. Of course the faces in the crowd do not look exactly like petals, but there is something in the way they appear to the poet which is analogical to the way that petals would look against the background of the wet branch. Perhaps the entirety of the set of correspondences can be represented so as to yield the unknown which is implied:

faces : petals :: X : wet, black bough.

Because the setting for the petals is the wet, black bough, the setting for the faces must be what is implied in the comparison. Thus the analogue for the wet, black bough is the subway station. And just as petals are similar to faces in perhaps color and texture, we can probably infer that the subway station is in other ways similar to the bough: grimy (black) and dank (wet). The warm flesh tones against this background are an "apparition" in their startling contrast with the walls of the Metro; the petals are sharply different in color and texture from the branch.

The major purpose served by this kind of comparison is to communicate the poet's perceptions to one who has not been in the subway in Paris, and who might well not have seen or felt the same things that Pound did. Even if we have not been in the subway, we have seen, or easily could imagine, petals on a wet, black bough. And just as we know the image of the flowers on the branch, we can then make the connection necessary to understand or envision what the faces in the crowd were like. Pound has used something that is known in order to describe something personal, something that is private in nature and not easily communicated. He has created an identification between flowers and faces, and between the two backgrounds. The choice of the comparisons made is supportive of the aesthetic value given the scene by the word "apparition."

Consider the other haiku (and let's not quibble that Pound's poem is not a haiku because it is not in the Rulebook form with 17 syllables: a haiku is seeing, not counting). The child poet has similarly used a scene from nature to express a feeling and a mood:

> The trees cry sadly
> Because the north wind blows cold
> And brings much sorrow.

Here the child is describing a common occurrence -- the way the wind sounds when it blows through trees. But when she says that the "trees cry sadly," she has gone a step beyond a literal description of the scene. The trees do not actually cry; the sound they make is like someone crying. But because human feelings are attributed to the trees, there is a corresponding further identification between the description of the wind in the trees and human situations. Thus the wind that makes the trees cry must also be identified with some other value, something that is to humans like the wind is to the tree. What in the human condition is like the north wind? Adversity, sorrow of a particular kind which brings the kind of loss to men that the cold wind brings to the tree, robbing it of its leaves, causing it to go into a dormant state for the winter is the counterpart human situation.

Both Pound and the child have found something that is known, or could easily be imagined from the description, to make a comparison with something else, something that would be infinitely more difficult to express without the analogy. It would of course be entirely possible for Pound to have described in clinical detail how the faces looked: their spectrophotometrical readings compared with that of the subway walls, with minute temperature and moisture readings of both. But this would hardly give quite the effect achieved by the metaphor. Deedee, likewise, could have listed all the ways that loss can come to humans; but obviously she could not have done so in seventeen syllables.

Perhaps the following grid can also describe what the two poets seem to have done to achieve their effects:

1-Level Surface	2-Level Symbolical Meaning	3-Level Personal Response

The poems can both be described in terms of 'levels.' First there is the surface, or the literal description that the poem gives. In the case of the Pound poem, this would be the seemingly disassociated statements about faces and petals; in the child's haiku, the literal surface is that the wind is blowing. Both poems, however, reach a deeper, or second, level, a meaning almost of greater importance than the surface level. This deeper structure can be called the interpretive or symbolical level. That petals are used as a comparison for faces makes the interpretation possible that the faces are contrasted with the background of the subway station in the same manner that the petals are in contrast with the wetness and blackness of the branch. Likewise in the child's haiku, the fact that the trees "cry" makes the 2-level mean that the "sorrow" or loss brought to them is like the bereavement that comes to humans which is analogous to the loss of leaves. And beyond these two levels, there is the wholly personal response one might have to a poem, the 3-level. On this level of identification we would find such terms used as 'liking' or 'hating' a poem; also we would encounter reactions to the poem which are beyond its immediate scope of metaphor. If, for example, one were to say of the Pound poem: "Oh, yes, that is the way my grandmother's chickens used to look," this would be a response on the personal level. Although it is certainly true that the chickens might have looked just like the faces at the Metro, still that is beyond what the poet is encompassing in his images of the faces and the petals. The 3-level is a valid and essential value in the apprehension of a poem; the point is, however, that it is not as close to the poem itself as the 2-level.

As an example of how this concept of 'levels' can be applied to poems either to garner their riches or to expose their anemia, consider the two examples below:

Starlight

Starlight Star bright
First star I see tonight
Wish I may, wish I might
Have the wish I wish tonight!

To The Evening Star

Thou fair-hair'd angel of the evening,
Now, whilst the sun rests on the mountains, light
Thy bright torch of love; thy radiant crown
Put on, and smile upon our evening bed!
Smile on our loves, and, while thou drawest
the
Blue curtains of the sky, scatter thy silver dew
On every flower that shuts its sweet eyes
In timely sleep. Let thy west wind sleep on
The lake; speak silence with they glimmering eyes,
And wash the dusk with silver. Soon, full soon,
Dost thou withdraw; then the wolf rages wide,
And the lion glares thro' the dun forest:
The fleeces of our flocks are cover'd with
Thy sacred dew: protect them with thine influence.[5]

The only metaphorical significance in Starlight seems to be the implied magical force of the stars over men's destinies. Beyond this, all we see is on the surface.

In Blake's To The Evening Star, the subject of the poem is similarly the appearance of a star in the sky. But in this poem, the full realization of metaphorical potential is reached. The time of day described is the equipose of day and night, the moment when the forces either of day or of night are in perfect balance, a time of great tranquility and peace when the evening star appears. The setting is entirely appropriate to the fact that the evening star is called Venus, who is also the goddess of love. In this perfect stillness, the goddess is the "angel" or deity of the evening, not only because of her rightful claims as the first, the sole star of the early evening, but also because of the aura of love associated with the peace of the evening. Further, the appearance of the star in the twilight sky will be "fair-haired" because of the nimbus which would naturally surround the first star, Venus. Here the 1 and 2 Levels interact perfectly to reinforce and recreate each other. What is true on the surface makes a statement of meaning and the metaphor in turn resonates against the surface of the poem. Venus-angel-star-love-twilight-fairhaired make overtones of meaning every time the new mention of the star is made. The "bright torch of love" means on the literal level that the star will become brighter, and on the 2-level, that the angel Venus will become more and more in the ascendancy of her power of love over the evening. The goddess is then asked to "smile on our loves," reinforcing the double meaning of Venus the star and Venus the bringer of love.

The imagery then becomes even more visual as the star is asked to "scatter thy silver dew," or bring more and more stars into the sky, all of which are part of the court of Venus and which, like her, will also shed the light of calm and benevolence on the darkening evening, the "blue curtains" of the sky. In this moment of perfect tranquility, "every flower shuts its sweet eyes' / In timely sleep." The dusk is washed with silver, or suffused with starlight.

Immediately after the scene is finally complete, there is an abrupt shift both in sound and in image: "Soon, full soon, / Dost thou withdraw; then the wolf rages wide, / And the lion glares thro' the dun forest . . . . " When the evening star leaves the sky, the security and blessedness of her power of love are also removed; the light of the star is replaced by the glaring eyes of the lion. The sound has changed, also, from the quiet sibilance of "speak silver" to the harsher sounds of "Wolf rages wide."

The poem ends with a return to the initial mood of peace and safety, now made more meaningful by a glimpse of the polar opposite of the lion and the wolf. Therefore, by the constant interaction of meaning on the metaphorical and surface levels, this poem by Blake becomes more rich in its poetical statement than the mere surface description in Starlight.

ii.

In the matter of teaching a poem, the question that always arises is: "Should we try to analyze the poem with the children, or should we simply allow them to 'enjoy' it with no direction from the teacher?" The problem in speaking up for analysis is that there is a widely prevalent notion that the explication of poetry is like dissection and is thus detrimental, indeed destructive, to the aesthetic values of the work. The idea of analysis as anathema to beauty is aptly described by Keats in the following lines:

> There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:
> We know her woof, her texture; she is given
> In the dull catalogue of common things.
> Philosophy will clip an Angel's wings,
> Conquer all mysteries by rule and line,
> Empty the haunted air, and gnomed mine---
> Unweave a rainbow. . . .
> (Lamia, ll. 231-237)

Doubtless there are ways of approaching a poem which are like clipping an angel's wings. Perhaps the kind of authoritarian approach which insists on only one meaning, which is to be memorized and repeated on the next test, is like this. And there are obviously ways of presenting poetry which make it seem that a poem works as rigidly and soullessly as a mechanical bird to "keep a drowsy emperor awake." We have all known a Mr. M'Choakumchild.

But are the alternatives this clear and exclusive -- namely kill it or don't touch. Could we maybe sniff the poem? Within the spirit of exploring this question, I quite simply took several poems and went to the mountain, in this case the Clare McPhee School in Lincoln, Nebraska, for a week of teaching poems to children in grades two through six.[6] Perhaps my experiences there will, in the telling, knit up a portion of the unraveled sleeve of poesy. I wanted to discover if there is a possibility that children could see things in even the most difficult poem which were sufficient to say that they had a valid conceptualization of it. Jerome Bruner's statement got me started on this quest: "We begin with the hypothesis that any subject can be taught effectively in intellectually honest form to any child at any state of development.[7]"

Thus emboldened, I took as my two 'test' poems (although I finally used many others) William Blake's The Tyger and Robert Frost's Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening. I attempted to create an atmosphere not only of pleasure, but also one of intellectual seriousness, tempered by the demands of working with children. My first desire was to see how the children would respond to good and difficult material when presented to them in somewhat the manner I address my college classes, where there is, hopefully, a respect for the intellect of the student and for the material. I tried a bit of nonsense verse and whimsy to 'warm up' the group, but they soon seemed to sense that I was not really involved with it and they refused to be either. Certainly humorous verse has its place in the realm of poetry; let me assert, however, that I am talking about the serious study of poetry and not a romp period.

To the forest with the tiger, then. There can be little doubt that one of the most difficult poems in English is Blake's The Tyger. Perhaps the great number of critical articles conerned with explicating this poem will attest not only to its seeming impenetrability but also to its merit. For a single poem so to tease the efforts of critics must indicate some great magnetism, some great worth seen in the continual quest to know all of the smiling, sphinx-like secrets of *The Tyger*.

All the difficulties of the poem aside, and being granted, it seemed to me a lark to see if Blake himself were genuinely prophetic when he reputedly claimed that only children could understand his poems. Whether or not Blake spoke in pique because of the neglect of his contemporaries or from a vital conviction, with Wordsworth, that the child is in imaginative powers "an eye among the blind," the children to whom I taught the poem had much less difficulty with its obscurities than contributors to *The Explicator* and *PMLA*.

The major difference in focus between the children and the critics was that the children ignored the difficult parts and reveled in what they could grasp. Characteristically, the scholars seem to savor the problems and impossibilities of the poem.

These matters aside, here is the process of presenting *The Tyger* to children from grades two through six. But before going into the teaching situation, a certain amount of background is necessary, as well as an understanding of the text of the poem.

The Tyger

Tyger! Tyger! burning bright
In the forests of the night,
What immortal hand or eye
Could frame thy fearful symmetry?

In what distant deeps or skies
Burnt the fire of thine eyes?
On what wings dare he aspire?
What the hand dare seize the fire?

And what shoulder, and what art,
Could twist the sinews of thy heart?
And when thy heart began to beat,
What dread hand? and what dread feet?

What the hammer? what the chain?
In what furnace was thy brain?
What the anvil? what dread grasp
Dare its deadly terrors clasp?

When the stars threw down their spears,
And water'd heaven with their tears,
Did he smile his work to see?
Did he who made the Lamb make thee?

Tyger! Tyger! burning bright
In the forests of the night,
What immortal hand or eye
Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?[8]

The Tyger appears in the Experience section of the collection Songs of Innocence and of Experience which has as its subtitle: "Shewing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul,"[9] indicating that the pastoralism and childlike quality of Songs of Innocence are polarities to the moral and spiritual decay of the Songs of Experience where we hear the curse of the harlot and the rattle of "mind-forg'd manacles." Furthermore, most of the poems in each section have a counterpart poem in the other section. The Tyger of Experience is opposed to The Lamb of Innocence.

With this all too brief description of the setting of The Tyger, I decided that the essential things to know about the poem for me to feel that the teaching experience had been 'intellectually honest' were these:

1. A knowledge that The Tyger represents energy.

2. The energy represented is malevolent.

3. Not only is the energy malevolent, but it is 'fallen' or corrupted.

4. This fallen energy is in fact human energy misdirected in the inhuman world of evil churches and chimney-sweepers.

5. Who could have created, or could have dared to create, innocence co-existently with experience, i.e. the lamb and the tyger?

6. That the last question remains unanswered and its implications are left to the mind of the reader.

After reading the poem to the children, I would usually initiate the discussion with a question which would relate the poem to the life experiences of the child: "Have you ever seen a tiger?" Almost invariably there would be a positive response: "Yes, in a zoo," "on television," "in the movies," etc. If one of the children said he had never seen a tiger, I would ask one of the children who had seen one to describe it to the others. Usually I would ask for a description anyway. Several times someone in the class demonstrated how the tiger he had seen would stalk back and forth in his cage, head lowered, eyes glowering.

This got us into the poem. I would then ask "What color was the tiger you saw?" "Gold, or orange, or yellow." "Was there anything about the tiger to make him look like he was burning?" "Oh, yes! his stripes -- the color of the yellow is the flame and the black is soot." This got to the principal of energy. Heat is energy. Then I picked up the line about the fire of the tiger's eyes. The questioning here would begin with my making my eyes look wide and evil and then I would ask the children if fire in the eye meant anything to them. Immediately the response was that the tiger was mean. Thus the idea was there that the energy was malevolent.

To get the discussion around to the concept of the tiger as symbolic of human character, I asked the children simply if they had any tiger in them. We talked about this for a few minutes, and several children acted out what it meant for them to be like a tiger. Then the question of the lamb came up. Twice I got the response from the children that the line "Did he who made the Lamb make thee?" meant something like "In like a lion, out like a lamb." As we related this proverb in its application to the seasons, we got the point into the open that divergent characters may be necessary in the scheme of things. But we closed with a fine sense that there were many issues in the poem which Blake had left unanswered.

To give a feeling of how some of the discussions went, I have transcribed part of the talk about the Frost poem, Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening. My interpretation of the last two lines, the repeated "And miles to go before I sleep" is that the first one means 'and a long distance to travel before I am home,' and that the second one means 'a long time to live before I die.' Here is that part of the discussion with a group of fourth-graders.

Q Would you stop if you were riding along the woods?

A Yeah. No! YEAH!

Q Then you think it odd that this man stops there, too?

A Sure.

Q Why does he stop?

A To look at the beauty of the woods.

Q And you wouldn't want to do this?

A Yeah, I would. (several voices)

Q While he is stopped he starts thinking about going on home, right?

A Yes.

Q Now, the poet has sixteen lines. He repeats one of them, which probably means he likes it. Which one is this?

A And miles to go . . . .

Q You think this line is important?

A It sort of sounds like an echo -- first louder and then kind of getting lower.

Q Why does he like this line?

A Maybe he doesn't.

Q (I read the two lines again) What's it say?

A It's like he wants to get in a different place.

Q OK.

A I think he just wants to get home and rest.

Q Any more than that?

A Well I think he wants to go further than just sitting looking at these woods. He wants it to mean more.

Q Oh?

A He means that he has a long way to go before he can rest.

Q You seem to be getting close to something else. Actually these woods may not be very far from the village.

A Before he dies.

Q Very good.

A bit later in the discussion we get to the difference between the horse and the man in the poem, and the answers here are interesting:

Q What is the major difference between the horse and the man?

A The horse has four legs and the man has two.

Q Good.

A Well, one of them's happy and the other one is sad.

Q Fine.

A The man wants to stop and look at the beauty of the woods but the horse wants to go on home.

Q That's right.

A The man knows he's going to die and the horse doesn't.

Because of the limited contact I had with these children, I forced their answers more than I would have if they were my own students. But the point is clear, that the children are capable of interpreting the metaphorical significances of the poem.

The comparison of To The Evening Star with Starlight should serve to illustrate the point that some so-called poems lack an analogical level and can be called merely surface statements. In our choice of poems for children, and in our methods of teaching them, it is the metaphorical level which probably has been most neglected. The implications for further work, by teachers and by trainers of teachers, are clear. To teach poetry, one needs the interpretive ability to discover the deeper significance of the work. Obviously only someone who has first made certain discoveries himself can help others uncover seemingly veiled meanings. And, finally, the teacher who has a keen critical sense will be free to find new poems in places other than the textbooks placed before him. This would be liberation.

Footnotes:

1. James Britton, Reason and Change in Elementary Education, ed. Paul A. Olson, Second National Conference of the Tri-University Project at New Orleans, Louisiana (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1968), p. 55.

2. Ruth G. Strickland, The Language Arts in the Elementary School (Boston, 1957).

3. Flora Arnstein, Poetry in the Elementary Classroom (New York, 1962), p. 1.

4. Louis Untermeyer, Modern American and Modern British Poetry (New York, 1955), p. 157.

5. William Blake, Complete Writings (Oxford, 1966), p. 3.

6. My thanks to the faculty of this school for their interest in the project, and their tolerance of my antics.

7. Jerome S. Bruner, The Process of Education (New York, 1960), p. 33.

8. Blake, p. 214.

9. Blake, p. 210.

B. Training the Teacher to Allow Kids to Imagine.

"Imaginary gardens with real toads in them."

The Imaginative Life: The Practicum

Doris Kuhn, June Byers and Francis Reinehr

One of the notions basic to the Tri-University project has been the notion that the project should cover the whole spectrium of American educational activities from the elementary school to the graduate school. Each of the Universities participating in the project developed a practicum in which elementary teachers worked with college professors in Education and the disciplines in a variety of contexts and both college and elementary teachers worked with elementary school students -- teaching them, tutoring them, using the frames provided by the disciplines and the educational disciplines to understand children. In the case of the Nebraska practicum, an attempt was made to apply the tools of literary and linguistic analysis to the language and fantasy life of children -- both oral and written -- so as to permit the creation of curricula which, in a genuine sense, centered in _a_ kid -- a particular Arvid or Charles. The children with whom the elementary teachers who participated in the Nebraska project worked were not so obviously mistreated and alienated as were those with which Mr. Ezer worked. They were, however, subtly alienated. And one of the practicum's purposes was to allow the children to express indirectly what was wrong with their world and to allow them to build a 'world' a bit more right.

On Freedom and the Human Imagination:
A Report on the Nebraska Practicum Experiment

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During this past year, the Nebraska branch of the Tri-University Project initiated a program whereby teachers from the schools and professors from both the departments of English and Education would work together solving practical problems of teaching English to elementary students. One primary aim of the program was to try out the notion that the literature offered to kids must be related to their real and imaginative life. We selected Elliott School, a Lincoln school serving a large number of 'ghetto' children (60-76% disadvantaged), as the place for the working out of this program: the 'practicum center.' We determined first to establish some rapport with the students, listening to and talking with them. After establishing mutual trust and respect, we developed a scheme of questions which would encourage each child to tell, as we taped him, stories and other private fantasies which we would then analyze both with the intention of understanding the child's 'inner life' and of relating his writing to other published writings similar in plot, motif, or meaning -- literature which would answer to his fantasies. The questions which we asked were of this order: what kinds of games do you play? how do you win a game? what are the rules of the game and how do you use them? what kinds of TV do you watch and what TV characters would you like to be? if you could have three wishes, what would you wish for? what do you think of cops, of lawyers, of doctors, of principals, etc? Some of the answers which we got to these questions were not comforting. A number of the children with whom we worked had rather severe emotional problems, few of them were comfortable in school, and many were uncomfortable with the 'whole system.' The major objectives of the program were:

1. To utilize our knowledge of each child in order to build a curriculum that would allow him to say what he felt and how.

2. To develop the teacher's skill in diagnosing children's imaginative writing as an index of their interests and observable emotional needs.

3. To bring the practicum findings back to the university so that they may be incorporated into future courses on the 'Teaching of English to Elementary Children.'

James Britton, in his essay concerning "The Role of Language in Learning in the Elementary School" mentions that "We use language . . . to structure experience, to give shape to experience . . . [that is,] the shape we find in things and also the shape we give to things."[1] Brian Sutton-Smith notes that the shapes of the games played by children are extremely important to an understanding of the child's vision of the world inasmuch as games substitute the 'intelligible' for the 'sensible.'[2] In our practicum experiment, we looked at the children's games, the roles they played in them, but we also looked at their game of using language to shape an inner reality -- an imaginary garden with real toads. As we carefully listened and then analyzed the taped transcriptions, the inner pictures began to emerge, pictures which told us something about the structure of the child's world, and the way of life he longed for. One boy named Charles indicated through his stories that his was a world (reminiscent of certain TV programs) where the primary battle is the battle of strength and size to conquer over weakness. This is part of our discussion with Charles:

Interviewer: What games do you play?

Charles: We play Batman, Superheroes, Aquaman, Superman, and Atom Ant.

Interviewer: Now, how do you decide who get to be the superhero?

Charles: The tallest one always . . . And in Aquaman, there's a boy named Aqua Lad. There's a big one named Aqua. The boy that I always play with is the biggest one. He always gets to be Aquaman -- because he's the biggest.

We then set up situations in which the children could tell or write a story in the confidence that we valued their fantasies and saw them as a vehicle through which they could understand the world and we, them. One of Charles' first written stories suggests the degree to which his interest in the superhero is more than accidental interest:

> This is a story about a monster. The monster is 100 feet tall. He has ten eyes. He has 100 legs. The monster has sharp fingernails. He has a cave. The cave has bats. The monster like to eat people, and he like to drink people blood. He could not eat me because I had armor.

In later conversation; Charles repeated this story, somewhat varied each time, but always the theme was the same -- the world is full of many-fingered, many-legged, and many-headed monsters that attack people, but monsters which, because of the narrator's special protection or weaponry, could not attack him. Charles' is a rather monstrous world, with non-benevolent forces continually surrounding him. And yet, he himself can repulse these forces; he has a certain amount of personal freedom; and he can make and execute decisions. His monstrous world has escape hatches. Not surprisingly, Charles took to the world of 'myths' and 'monsters,' of 'cyclopes' and 'dragons' in his own reading.

Another boy, named Arvid, had a vision of a world more monstrous in its own way than was Charles'. In his story, Arvid depicts a world completely void of human compassion. Arvid told his story while looking at a plastic and plexi-glass 'ideal society' which he and his classmates had constructed, and he told the story with a look of fascination at the 'evil of it all' and of delight in the perfection of it all.

> First of all, it is an evil planet. They worship other gods and they're mostly warriors. There aren't women on a planet like this; it's strictly a man's planet. If women came on a planet like this, they'd get killed. There's about 25 scientists who live in the big building. They make lazar beams to destroy other planets, make rockets and construct cars. They don't have the same kind of policemen; their policemen kill if they don't obey. Half of their scientists are engineers and the other half make chemicals and stuff. The rest of the people are soldiers and the place is too crowded. The scientists made a computer that made men and one day it got out of hand and made so many men that they couldn't stop and they didn't have enough places to put them. They destroyed the computer to stop it putting out men. They got a certain ruler who is a computer and if he stops or falls, the rest stand still and don't move. The people are run by the computer and when the computer stops they all stop. They don't eat. The one scientist is human, and he fixes the computer if it ever stops and they made him a way so he wouldn't die. He drinks some kind of formula. They shoot anybody in sight that doesn't live on their planet.

The story as Arvid told it revealed his conception that life is governed by an uncaring robot-like force, that individual decision making is non-existent. The plot is, of course, a conventional TV plot; but Arvid's stance toward the plot -- the values which he chose to convey through it -- were not those conventionally imagined as evoked by such a plot -- horror and rejection -- but rather delight and fascination. Aliens, those who disagree with the power structure, are shot. Noticeably absent is any feminine principle, any representing of love, compassion, the non-scientific or non-mechanical part of life. In this all-male world governed by an automaton, the purpose of life is to destroy others -- through lazar beams, rockets, and chemicals. Even the manufacturing of cars adds to the noticeable absence of a helpful, self-fulfilling purpose in life. Arvid said, "it is an evil planet," but he said it with a sort of satisfaction.

Arvid's own life reflects the lack of purposefulness, the lack of ability to make decisions, and the emphasis on destruction as a way of life. Following is a taped interview with him:

Interviewer: Arvid what are some of the games that you like to play?

Arvid: Football, Basketball, Soccer, Softball.

Interviewer: Which one would you say is your favorite?

Arvid: Football.

Interviewer: Why? What makes it your favorite game?

Arvid: I like the way, ah, the boys get tackled. It makes it exciting. And I like it when people get hurt.

Interviewer: You like it when people get hurt?

Arvid: Well, ah, when they get stuck in the finger with a spike or something and they yell, I like that.

Interviewer: You like that. Would you like to be the one that got hurt?

Arvid: I've been hurt before.

The inflicting of pain in the game, like the inflicting of pain in the 'ideal' society, is a desirable thing. When we first entered the school, Arvid's play activity was characterized by an incapacity to follow the rules of the game, by his constant drawing down on himself the cruelty of his playmates, and by frequent fighting, crying, and so forth. (Not surprisingly, the boy took great relish in the boxing gloves we bought for his group, but more significantly he eventually learned to govern his violent impulses more or less according to the rules of the game of boxing. After sometime, he also learned to study better.)

In Arvid's world as we found it when we began to work with him, power and the capacity to administer pain seemed to determine what was right (as exemplified by this conversation):

Interviewer: If someone walked into the room and they didn't know which was the bad guy and which was the good guy, is there any way they could tell?

Arvid: By the way they behave -- like that -- like there was a man that's dressed up just like Batman. All they'd have to do is, ah, get him into a fight or something like that and the one that usually wins is the real Batman.

All of this may come to a head in Arvid's remark about his father's world.

Interviewer: Who's someone you admire?

Arvid: Ah, my dad. I want to be just like him, be an electrician.

Interviewer: Why?

Arvid: Well, ah, well, the way he figures things out, I think . . . I admire the way he wants to take us down to where he works and help him -- you know -- like sweep the floor or something like that. I wouldn't want to work out at the food factory like he does now. Because he works on night shift, and all he does is change lightbulbs. He says he doesn't like it.

Arvid's father, an electrician, apparently has been unable to practice his trade in any meaningful way in recent years and is now just putting in light bulbs at an assembly plant. Arvid shows a dissatisfaction and alienation projected by his father. And so, the picture Arvid draws in his stories is a dehumanized picture of man as a robot controlled by a master robot, man as a rather helpless being in a routinized and militarized world.

Listening to Charles and Arvid, talking with them about their homes, their favorite people, their fictional heroes may be a first step in teaching English to children. Through interacting with them, one can meet their need for personal relationship, one can gain invaluable information for diagnosing their needs. Half of developing a curriculum for such children is being cognizant of what they are. For individuals like Charles and Arvid, we found it necessary to encourage continual expression of their thoughts, to develop their ability to make decisions, and to present ways of thinking alternative to their own. We gave them a wide range of choice of books to read, and we allowed them to purchase books which might provide objective correlatives to their nightmares and meaning beyond their nightmares. Arvid 'went for' a 'Gothic world' of horror in his own reading. What we are saying then is that the world of a child's games, of his fantasies, of his home and family and the worlds of his story-telling and story-reading are best seen together -- as 'pictures' whereby a child bodies forth who he is and what the world looks like through his eyes.

One of the best methods of encouraging children to articulate their feelings, to make decisions, and to recognize ways of thinking alternate to their own, was role-playing in dramatic skits. That sounds conventional enough, but conventionality is not necessarily foolish. What was unconventional may have been the degree to which we asked kids to objectify through drama -- now as a group -- their nightmares and visions of fairness. In one set of dramatic play-bits, each child created a series of very large masks made to represent allegorical figures -- a figure of strength, of goodness, of slyness, or an authority figure, even a monster or just an ordinary person. The children then ad-libbed parts which somehow voiced, directly or indirectly, their feelings about the characters they represented.

In one of these dramas (one in which 'Nebraska Farmer' would lose his land to 'Rat-Fink' in a poker game), the children were faced with the problem of providing a solution to the story. They decided that a good and beautiful wife should recover the land for her husband through her superior luck in a card game. _A way out was found_, but the children brought in luck or good fortune to provide the solution to the difficult circumstances. For Charles or Arvid the escape provided by luck, fortune, or divine intervention provides a sense that there may be alternative modes of life and new directions. This trust in 'fortune' is not surprising. For most of the children in the group were from white or black disadvantaged homes. One thing that recent research on human gaming behavior has shown is that, whereas games of strategy are favored by those who 'succeed' in life (they see the game of life as essentially a game of manipulating elements to their own advantage within a set of governing rules), games of chance and stories with a deus ex machina are favored by those who fail -- they see success as an accidentally granted benison and not as a rule-governed thing. The children of poverty may see success in the same way as their parents.

In any case, the children did not have a clear sense that destinies can be controlled. Let us give one more example. At one time the children discussed Shakespeare's play, Othello. They had heard Lamb's Tale of Othello, and they had visited the Lincoln Community Playhouse where the director showed them the mechanical and theatrical devices used to create dramatic effect in Othello. After seeing the play performed, the children discussed the dramatic conflict in the play, and they brought up the question of the characters' free will. They asked, "Could Desdemona have changed the outcome of the story?" Their suggestions ranged from "Yes, she could have" to "No, she could have had no effect on the events, neither on Othello nor on Iago; she only represented love and meekness: she had no power." It is not surprising that many of the children (including the black children) identified with Desdemona. They seemed to see themselves through her as caught in a trap and controlled by powers outside. It may not be too much to suggest that for them this play, a tragedy in which a man's life to some extent seemed to be determined by an evil force, represented an alternative representation of the vision of life which Arvid set forth through his planet. Seeing this literary work, the children could objectify their own feelings and, at the same time see the implications of a deterministic view. (The play also permitted them to see, and to think deeply about, relations between black and white.)

To have the sense that one is trapped is one thing; to express it or objectify it is another; to give to a person a sense that he can be free is still a third thing. In one of our experiments, children like the Charles's and the Arvid's were encouraged to think independently by structuring the kind of environment they would like to live in. After the teacher read Evan's Corner, a story by Elizabeth Starr Hill, the students created their own corners (as Evan did in the book). The boys built their corner out of old lumber and boxes, filled it with airplanes, boats, pictures of knights, dragons, and military weapons, and met daily to talk, read, and write. The girls built a corner out of large cardboard cartons which they painted inside and out to resemble a nice, neat, middle-class cottage. They filled it with knightly (or ladylike) banners covered with their names and delicate drawings. In these corners, the boys and girls read stories, created and enacted a drama, and wrote song lyrics -- which they performed before their parents. One of these lyrics introduced the dramatic performance:

Come into our corners
To see what we've made.
We made lots of pillows,
And there we all stayed.

We talked and told stories,
And made banners too.
We wrote in our diaries,
And told all our news.

The boys built their corners
Out of crates and nails.
And filled up their fish tank
With fish but no snails.

The boys read a story
About George and his friend,
And now we must tell you
That soon they'll begin.

Through this exercise in imagination, the children came to have a somewhat more secure faith in their own abilities -- in their carpentry and sewing skills and in their talents of writing, singing, and acting. The Arvid's and Charles's began to sense the possibilities for imagining and actually creating an environment they would like, instead of an environment imposed upon them from which they seemed to sense no possibility of escape.

Out of such relationships of teachers to children, such diagnoses of childrens' emotional needs, such careful 'structuring' of class activities to meet individual needs, we developed a curriculum designed to meet the student where he is, to confront him with literary experiences interesting and meaningful to him. As members of a team, we teachers met together to diagnose tapes of conversations with the students, to make suggestions for curriculum change and to evaluate what we had done. We did not always succeed but we did find the program helpful and effective. We would wish it to be incorporated into the university courses on the "Teaching of English to Elementary Children."

Footnotes

1. Reason and Change in Elementary Education, ed. Paul A. Olson, Second National Conference of the Tri-University Project of New Orleans, Louisiana (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1968), p. 58.

2. Brian Sutton-Smith, an unpublished lecture on "Games and Education" given at Lincoln, Nebraska (Spring, 1968).

The Functions of Research in the Education of Teachers

Laura Chase

The project which follows is a representation of the kind of project applying the tools of the disciplines to the understanding of the intellectual life of kids which might form part of the clinical school research experience of pre-service or in-service teachers. Mrs. Chase is a professor of speech. To write the paper which follows, she spent a great deal of time with two children. Professors in Education and the disciplines *ought* to find time to study children closely: how they learn and what. They ought to find similar relevant studies for the students whom they train. The children which Mrs. Chase studied might have been treated by another person as MR children or Special Ed. cases. Mrs. Chase, however, takes them where they are, discovers that they have a broad linguistic repertory of a sort, an imaginative life which runs from the epic to domestic comedy, and a capacity to invent gestural and 'concrete' metaphor which is vivid and even exciting. What her research discovers are the things which these children could do which teachers might not normally see them as capable of doing. The research is solely diagnostic. The teacher-in-training who did such research in a clinical school would have some sense of what specific children had which could be built upon, and where 'remediation' might make sense -- i.e. where it is the consequence of a completely individual linguistic analysis of an individual child.

Two Children

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This project began as an experiment to find out if two children whose capacity to use language as a tool of communication, creation or self representation had been warped and stunted by their experience in home and society and with whom I was to work would produce language in quantity as well as imaginative language if they were manipulating objects and talking rather than if they were just engaged in conversation with an adult. I also hoped to discover if the use of objects with abstract form as well as those with conventional form would stimulate both verbal and gestural metaphor as the children worked with them (gestural metaphor meaning the use of an object within the context of play so as to make it stand for something other than itself). As a result of working with the transcribed tapes of the sessions, the 'dialects' of both children and their contribution to the general problem of oral communication became very apparent. The two children were Penny, just seven at the time of our meetings, and Jay, who was almost nine. Both children's oral language was difficult to understand and both were working with a speech therapist. By paying particular attention to their non-verbal language I could understand most of what they were saying. Also, having observed them and become acquainted with them in their morning physical education class, the way was paved for individual sessions.

Jay

I had seven meetings with Jay, each lasting from twenty to twenty-five minutes. The first two meetings were spent getting acquainted with the room and materials. I tried to discover his interests, his likes and his dislikes. The last five meetings were taped, with a small tape recorder hidden on the table under my coat. At the final meeting I showed Jay the tape recorder; he recorded his speech and listened to the playback. He did not seem concerned that the recorder was present. Jay reads at pre-primer level, but he enjoyed hearing short stories with strong central characters who were involved in fast action. He anticipated the events and appreciated the humor in "The Brave Little Tailor" and "The Musicians of Bremen," turning the page for the next story before we had finished the one we were reading. His favorite characters were Davy Crockett and John Paul Jones and he liked stories of cowboys and Indians. Jay apparently met the broad form of joke for the first time when I read to him Bennet Cerf's Book of Jokes. His response to the first three or four jokes was one of wonder, then he started to guffaw as the point of each joke was reached.

We met in a small pleasant room off the library. I brought special objects each session for him to play with. The most successful in stimulating language were toy plastic soldiers, toy firemen, and a bag of cowboys and Indians mixed together with some horses and some farm animals. He readily incorporated two plastic toys, one of Yogi Bear and one of a dog, into his stories as monsters and giants. A yarn octopus became a menacing giant octopus, but he paid no attention to a plastic ten-pin, a small table tennis paddle and a red ball. I brought a piece of wood, a Cypress "knee" with an abstract shape, something like a piece of driftwood. It puzzled Jay at first, but he finally worked it into his play as a burning house, then as a mountain as he played and talked his stories out. Jay used the terms "play like" and "pretend" while developing his stories, so this must have been a familiar form of recreation. He displayed great imagination in his fabrications.

The stories he told had structure, and on three meetings he set up, deployed, and moved the figures through a coherent story for which he supplied vigorous narrative, dialogue, commentary and sound effects. A typical session with the toy figures would last from ten to twenty minutes, in the course of which he would play out several segments of the story. For example, at the first session with the soldiers Jay separated them into G.I.'s with Germans, each side having a Colonel. First the Germans killed the G.I.'s then the American Colonel plotted with his men, who had miraculously come alive, to creep up behind the German troops and dispose of them. The American and German Colonels parleyed but came to no agreement. As a consequence the G.I.'s overcame the Germans and all became "good guys." In a later segment of this story the two plastic dolls became monsters who descended upon the sleeping soldiers killing them and carrying them off to their lair on the bookshelf. Finally, the monsters were overcome by the only remaining soldier, then all of the soldiers came to life again.

Penny

With Penny I had five sessions of twenty minutes each, taping four of these meetings. I also hid the tape recorder when working with her, bringing it out at the final session to record her voice and play it back for her to hear. She paid little attention to either the recorder or the recording. For Penny I brought the same equipment that Jay used, but added a toy bunny, a small set of doll dishes, some playdough and three bright scarves. Later, I brought a book of paper dolls, ballerinas with dancing dresses and street clothes, for her to take home and play with. Penny rejected the soldiers, the cowboys and the Indians, remarking that girls did not play with such things. She did not use such words as "pretend" or "play like," as Jay did. Domestic games pleased her most, so she made cookies with playdough, set the table and washed the dishes; readily utilizing the ten-pin as a ketchup bottle and the table-tennis paddle as a mustard container, while the red ball became the hot sausage. She liked the bunny, but not the plastic dog or Yogi Bear. By using the scarves she became the little girl and I became the mother. Penny saw a human body in the Cypress block with two hands upraised. At the last session the block became a coffee pot with a convenient spout for pouring. Penny also used the room in which we met as a make-believe house; there was a low sink actually there, and the one small closet became either the kitchen or a cupboard. She wanted to play the same situation over each time with little variation. Penny does not read and did not enjoy hearing stories read, at least in our sessions. Her conversations were about random subjects and I had to do a great deal of talking, suggesting and questioning to get her to talk and to play. A very feminine little girl, her chief topics were cooking, home, father and grandmother, pretty clothes, jewelry and the like.

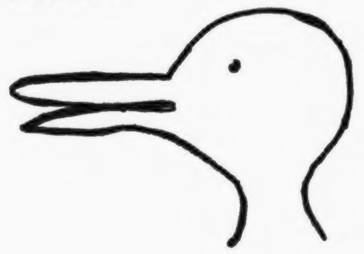
PROCEDURE

At each session I placed the materials on a table and the children could choose from them. At times the materials were placed so that they would be singled out for attention. Sometimes I put the play dishes on the table for Penny, or the soldiers and cowboys were placed on the small typing table at which we worked to see what Jay would do with them. I attempted to set up a situation, then let the children work within it without interrupting. Staying out of the situation was a difficult task and in playing back the tapes this fact became glaringly evident. I took no written notes during the sessions, but depended upon recall and immediate transcriptions of the tapes for a record.

RESULTS

So far as the original purpose was concerned, which was to discover what objects would stimulate these two children to talk, the objects served well enough. Enough language was observed in the situations to provide evidence. Since so much of the communication depended upon non-verbal elements, sound film or video tape would have provided better aural and visual clues. As neither of the children read, books were of little use, even picture books, although Jay enjoyed hearing certain stories if they were short and full of action. In the case of Penny, her imaginative use of the objects which interested her mirrored the domestic life. Jay was immediately stimulated to use whatever interested him, and he would work the objects into his stories that he played out. Penny could have continued playing the domestic games for some time with little variation. Jay was beginning to tire of the soldiers and cowboys, but when he did play with them it was intense, protracted, sustained, imaginative events with gesture, dialogue, narrative and sound all part of the action.

Gestural metaphor seemed to satisfy both Jay and Penny in what they were doing, but when I would ask what an object was representing in their play they would tell me. By gestural metaphor may be related the phenomenon which Ludwig Wittgenstein speaks of, in the Philosophical Investigations (II, xi), as "seeing as" and which he illustrated through the figures of a duck-rabbit which sometimes appears to be a duck, sometimes a rabbit:



For example, the Cypress block in Jay's story was identified as a wall, a house or a mountain, when I interrupted him to ask. The plastic toys became monsters and giants and were so identified. With Penny, the Cypress block became a human body with hands raised, or a coffee pot; the first response was in answer to my question "What do you think it is?"; the second was volunteered as we sat at the table eating an imaginary meal. Jay appeared to be actually seeing and participating in the scenes as he worked them out. There was verbal metaphor in the sense that he announced the setting, the nature of the combatants and described what was going on as he manipulated and talked about the objects and what they represented at the time.

Penny's gestures were token but recognizable as when she washed the dishes, fed the doll, or prepared a meal. They became larger and more vigorous when she squeezed the ketchup and mustard bottles. Jay's manipulations of the toys were a part of the language of the story. Sometimes he would hold a toy figure, making sounds appropriate to the situation while moving the figure around as if he were busy fitting it into the evolving story. His gestures were explicit, fingers deft. His language was most vivid and profuse when he had the objects involved in a clash between two factions.

TWO 'DIALECTS'

What became clear from working with the transcriptions was not only an idea of the imaginative language elicited by the situation, but a general pattern of the 'dialects' used by the children. After each session the tape was transcribed as exactly as possible from the children's unclear speech. The tapes and the transcriptions were studied together and any doubtful sections were replayed many times in an attempt to catch the actual words, syntax, grammar and intonation. Both the observer's and the child's remarks were transcribed in as many sections of dialogue or monologue as could be extracted from the recordings. If a word was unclear in a grammatical sentence, that sentence was included and the unclear word labeled. Single words and garbles were not counted as sentences. Clauses were counted if they contained a subject and verb no matter what tense. "Non-clauses"with a noun or verb lacking were counted separately. One and two word replies to questions were not counted. Some rhetorical elements were noted. There was no attempt made to measure vocabulary or sentence length. Three juncture marks were used to indicate the clause limits: the cessation of speech with a rising pitch /"/, the cessation of speech with prolonged pitch /'/, and the cessation of speech with lowering of pitch #. The breakdown was as follows for both dialects.

Jay

Simple sentences	192	67 plus %
Coordination of clauses	15	5 plus %
Subordination of clauses	10	4 plus %
Verb or noun lacking in "non-clause"	66	23 plus %
Total	283	

Penny

Simple sentences	118	84 plus %
Coordination of clauses	3	2 plus %
Subordination	4	2 plus %
Verb or noun lacking in "non-clause"	15	11 plus %
Total	140	

The occurrence of simple sentences, coordination and subordination were recorded grossly from the dialects of Penny and Jay. The only published study providing somewhat comparative norms was Syntax of Kindergarten and Elementary School Children[1] which identified fixed slot structure of main clauses. The findings for grammatically incomplete clausal patterns in speech from this study can be cited. T-Units were the smallest units counted, with tables based upon the occurrence of various syntactical forms per T-Unit.

The incidence of grammatically incomplete clausal patterns in the third grade boys in the study of syntax was 4% per 100 T-Units.[2] In Jay's speech, incomplete clausal patterns appeared 66 times out of a total of 283, or 23%. Incidence of grammatically incomplete clausal patterns in the speech of first grade girls in the study of syntax was 6.40% per 100 T-Units. In Penny's record, this form of "non-clause" appeared 15 times out of a total of 140 utterances of all kinds recorded, or 11%. It is difficult to make any particular comment on these figures.

In Strickland's study, the 1-2 pattern, or subject and verb, for grade one (boys and girls) occurred 62 times out of 146, or 42-1/2%; the 1-2 -4 pattern occurred 301 times out of 854, or 35%. Penny's dialect showed 118 simple sentences out of 140 or 84%. Without breaking Penny's sentences down in the same way Strickland's shows them it would be difficult here also to make a comment.

JAY'S 'DIALECT'

Jay's 'dialect' showed that he had at his disposal the clause used as a simple sentence as well as clauses used coordinately and subordinately. The simple sentence in this language sample was used in 67% of the remarks, while coordination was used in 5% and subordination in 4%. "Non-clauses," with the noun or verb lacking occurred one-third as often as clauses with a noun and verb present. However, the 67% of the clauses used by Jay having both noun and verb indicated that he knew the syntactical slot in which these forms belonged, whether they were used in a standard fashion or not. Assuming that a standard 'dialect' would be other than the one already being used by Jay, the most noticeable element in his present one was the instability of "to be," and the omission of "to" in the infinitive. There seemed to be no particular pattern in his use of "to be." For example it was used correctly as a contraction with "they" as the subject ("they're gonna save the people") but in a non-standard fashion, a fashion which even departs from conventional grammaticality in "they's in a ship." "Are" was used in a standard fashion with "these" as subject ("these two are married") but it was omitted after the plural "you" subject ("you goin' to bed") and "we" as subject ("we all goin' to ship,") "is" was omitted with "they;" "who," "we," and "this" as subjects, as well as after singular subjects, as well as after singular subject ("he a soldier.") "Am" was used in standard form as a contraction as in "I'm the last guy."

In his use of the infinitive the "to" is left out consistently with several verbs, for example: "this goin' be 'bout pirates," "I don't know what say"; yet, Jay used "to" in the sentence "I like t' have them." The infinitive was often bypassed by the use of "wanna," "gotta," and "gonna."

Forms of "do" were omitted at times as in "what the whole set have," "what you guys call me," and the negative was missing in "the firemen save people do they." The final "s" and "es" were omitted in both nouns and verbs inconsistently as in "the indian help the cowboy," "he get kicked out of the army." But "s" was both included and excluded in "some G.I.'s and German fightin'." Too, the final "ed" was sometimes omitted as in "an old man name," and "Davy Crocket live in a fort." Thus, the inflectional morphology of Jay's language was fairly eccentric.

In Jay's language the rhetorical elements of time sequencing appeared in such sentences as "when you get the whole set can I have the whole set," and "If they die if they dead they will bury them when they back to the fort." He also used "because" to indicate a reason in such sentences as "You go home 'cause that's cheatin'," and "He get kicked out of the army 'cause he was bad." Jay also displayed a direct persuasive attack with persistent requests such as "Can I have them," and "Can I have the G.I."

Although his stories moved rapidly, the movement was not inherent in the verbal language of the story, but in the gestures he used to manipulate the objects as they figured in and out of a story being played. That is, there were no such statement as "First these soldiers move up behind the Germans, then the Germans, and finally the Americans are all killed."

Jay's language also showed some idiomatic expressions such as "Davy got dead," and "I got the book by the library about it." The flow of his language had a rhythmical quality to it, resulting from the repetition of many of his phrases, as well as duplication of words such as "naughty, naughty," "dum dum jiney," "bad, bad," as well as elementary duplications as "goin' bye bye," and "oh, oh."

PENNY'S 'DIALECT'

Penny's language showed that out of a total of 140 clauses and sentences 118, or 84%, were simple sentences (whether the verb was correct tense or not.) Fifteen "non-clauses," or 11% lacked either a noun or verb. Coordination was represented by 3 sentences, or 2%, and subordination by 4 sentences, or 2%. Assuming again that there is a more standard dialect than the one she was using, the most noticeable use of verb form was the instability of "to be," and the omission of "to" in the infinitive. For example "are" was omitted in "you gonna stay here." "Is" was substituted for "are" in "there's some cookies I making." However "is" was used correctly as a contraction in "the ketchup's all gone" and "today's my birthday," but it was omitted after the subject as in "he mad," "my other one home." "Were" was omitted in "you say you goin' be on Wednesday." while "being" is substituted for "is" in "your daddy being home."

With the infinitive Penny omitted the "to" consistently with many verbs, as in "Debbie going go into foster home," "you forgot say happy birthday." "Gonna" substituted often for the infinitive in Penny's language, while "to" as a preposition was frequently omitted as in "I go Colorado," and "I'm goin' my father's home today." The verb "do" appeared in the wrong tense form as in "she got a real baby there now Grandma do," and "I didn't know what's this." "Will" was omitted as auxiliary as in "I help you do it," and in (can or will) "You read that."

Penny makes full use of intonation and bodily gesture to supplement the verbal language, and it all serves as a vivacious if not always understandable language. This observed performance in her language suggests that for a 7-year-old grammatical competence has lagged, even though coordination and subordination is present in minimal amounts. The telegraphic structure of the sentences indicates that there may be underlying reasons for the lack of linguistic ability.

Penny's language showed some indications of the rhetorical aspects of consequence and time sequencing. For example, with the "if" supplied, she indicated the consequences of an action with (if) "You do I'm goin' spank you." The notion of time sequence was illustrated by the three examples: "going to town # going to see a movie # then Santa is going to come and get some dancing shoes #." In this sample the preposition and infinitive were in the correct slots.

In summary, Jay and Penny have difficulty with verbal communication because of some sound substitutions with which they are being helped by a speech therapist. Their non-verbal communication is highly developed and it compensates to some extent for the lack of verbal skill. Jay's grammar indicates that he has available the syntactical structures of simple, coordinate and subordinate clauses. Penny's grammar shows that she has the use of simple sentences, and a token use of coordination and subordination. Although considerable deprivation of language is evident. The survey of their dialect shows an added reason for poor verbal communication, the unstable use of some grammatical forms. Dropping of the particles and the unaccented endings of words suggests that these have not been emphasized in the adult speech in their environments. Too, the use of certain forms suggests that these have occurred in the grammar used by adults. Still assuming that a different dialect would be more desirable for them, several directions are indicated which would be of use in working with these two children in order to take them as far as they are capable of going in developing understandable speech.

First, would be a diagnosis to show if there were any physical or mental anomalies contributing to the state of their language development. Second, would be a pointed attack on the uses of the verb "to be" as well as on the infinitive forms of verbs. Judicious oral demonstration and drill might be effective. Third, there could be a great deal of aural bombardment by means of stories read aloud or told using vigorous and clear adult language. Retelling the stories, or telling the stories from pictures as well as telling stories to a tape recorder would also be helpful. Last, and probably the most important, both children could profit from having frequent conversations with and listening to 'a significant adult' about their own interests and concerns and about the world as well.

Footnotes:

1. Roy C. O'Donnell, William J. Griffin, Raymond C. Norris, Syntax of Kindergarten and Elementary School Children: A Transformational Analysis. Champaign, Ill: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967.

2. Ibid. p. 76.

3. Ruth G. Strickland, The Language of Elementary School Children, Indiana University: Bureau of Educational Studies and Testing, 1962, Vol. 38, No. 4, p. 30.

References:

1. Martin D. S. Braine, "On Learning the Grammatical Order. . .," in Readings in the Psychology of Language, edited by Leon A. Jakobovits, Murray S. Miron, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967,.pp. 232-256.

2. Roger Brown and Ursula Bellugi, "Three Processes in the Child's Acquisition of Language," New Directions in the Study of Language, Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1967, pp. 131-161.

3. Children and Oral Language, prepared by a joint committee of A.C.E.I., A.S.C.D., I.R.A., N.C.T.E., U. S. Office of Education, Helen K. Mackintosh, Editorial Chairman, 1964.

4. Susan M. Ervin, "Imitation and Structural Change in Children's Language," in New Directions in the Study of Language, Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1967, pp. 163-189.

5. Eric H. Lenneberg, Biological Foundations of Language, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967, Chapter 4.

6. Frank B. May, "The Effects of Environment on Oral Language Development," in Research in Oral Language, Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 508 S. Sixth St., 1967, pp. 1-9.

7. Walter T. Petty and Roberta J. Starkey, "Oral Language and Personal and Social Development" in Research in Oral Language, Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 508 S. Sixth St., 1967, pp. 21-29.

PENNY'S 'DIALECT'

Examples

TO BE		
Are	omitted omitted, wrong subject omitted, wrong verb form	you gonna stay here that my cards in there there's some cookies I making
Am	omitted	there's some cookies I making
Is	used correctly as contraction	the ketchup's all gone today's my birthday
	garbled	I didn't know what's this
	used instead of plural	there's some cookies I making
	omitted after "that"	that mine right there
	omitted	he mad my other home Debbie going go into foster home
	"being" used instead of "is"	your daddy being home?
Were	omitted	you say you goin' be on Wednesday
HERE	omitted	you say you goin' be on Wednesday
TO	omitted	you say you goin' be on Wednesday you do I'm goin' spank you Debbie going go into foster home I'm goin' make n'other one goin' make Christmas cookies you goin' be home today I'm goin' see my grandma too you forgot say happy birthday you know what I'm going make

	use of "gonna"	gonna eat yours you gonna go swimming today you gonna play another game me and Dorothy's gonna play tonight
	omitted as preposition	I'm goin' Colorado I go Colorado I'm goin' my father's home today
ON	omitted	I have it my birthday
IN	omitted	put these things (in)
DO	wrong tense	she got a real baby there now my grandma do
DID	wrong tense	I didn't know what's this
	omitted	you see that man go tu tu tu
WILL	omitted as auxiliary (with I)	now put the ketchup away
	omitted as auxiliary	I help you do it
CAN OR WILL	omitted	(can or will) You read that?
THAT	omitted	you bring them stuff
THEM	misused	you bring them stuff
	omitted as object ("it" misused)	I want it (meaning cards)

SENTENCES - Most of Penny's sentences were simple sentences, or consisted of one word utterances.

SUBORDINATION

You bring them stuff, like the bunny and . . . . .
She got a real baby there, my grandma do, it doesn't cry
(If) you do I'm goin'' spank you
(If you go to) Colorado you gonna ride train

COORDINATION

He tease her and he grabs her

you put your (unclear word) in there and cowboys in there

I gotta roll it first and put some more ketchup on

TIME SEQUENCE

Going to town # going to see a movie # then Santa is going to come and get them some dancing shoes #

Now put the ketchup away

sometimes Dorothy tease

IDIOMS

gonna

gotta

JAY'S 'DIALECT'

Examples

Are	used as contraction with "they"	they're gonna save the people they're goin' this way they're goin' backward they're goin' have a war they're goin' have a dog
	used with "these" as subject	these two are married these are four Germans these are the soldiers
	used with "them" as subject	them are the men them are the people fightin'

	omitted after compound subject	'tend the Colonel and the Sergeant goin' inside all the men on the river and everybody dead
	omitted after plural "you" subject	you goin' to bed you dead you bad bad men
	omitted after singular "you" as subject	you gettin' kicked out of the army
	omitted with "we" as subject	we all goin' to ship
Is	used as contraction corectly	there's a big birdie he's no giant he's the Captain he's gonna get kicked out of the army
	used with "they" as subject	they's in a ship
	omitted after "who" as subject	who this for
	omitted after "he" subject (double subject)	big giant he up
	omitted after "this" and noun as subject	this G.I. good guy
	omitted after singular subject	he a good indian too he the captain of soldiers he a soldier today Patty birthday one bad guy sittin' on the cross he one of the men he the guy up in the ship
	omitted with plural subject	when everybody all done playing with them

	omitted after "this" as subject	this goin' be a story about foreigners
Am	used as contraction correctly	I'm the last guy I'd (I'm) a rotten egg
Was	used past tense correctly	he get kicked out of the army cause he was bad
	used instead of plural form	. . . upon a time was two
TO HAVE	omitted as auxiliary with "been"	those shooters been here
TO	omitted	this goin' be bout pirates goin' be a war goin' be a big fight want the women be alive do I get keep them I like play fireman that teach you a lesson not come back no more he told him stay right there I don't know what say
	"wanna" and "gonna" used to bypass infinitive	I don't wanna tell that I'm gonna tell another story I'm gonna wait for you get that down
DO	omitted as verb	what the whole set have
	omitted as negative	the firemen save people do they
	"did" form omitted	what you guys call me what you three guys call him
WOULD	used with conditional	you know what would happen
	omitted in conditional	I like t' have them
FINAL "S" (es)	omitted in plural	the Indian help the cowboy
	omitted after "these"	can I have these G.I.
	omitted as plural ending	some G.I.'s and German fightin'

	omitted in present tense	that teach you a lesson who want to fight me now and the captain come in and say he take the shovel off the hand he get kicked out of the army the guy win to go up there
	possissive omitted	today Patty birthday
FINAL "ED"	omitted	an old man name Davy Crocket live in a fort
THE	in wrong slot in garbled sentence	who play the soldiers for
	omitted	see right here in water I like to have firemen
THAN	omitted as comparison ("of" substituted)	he better of you
GOT	incorrect use of "they"	they've gots off
HELPING	used instead of infinitive	this thing gonna helpin' him
IDIOM	he better of you Davy got dead I got the book by the library about it a whole bunch men gonna gotta	
REPETITION	naughty naughty dum dum jiney bad bad goin' bye bye bye bye oh oh	
SENTENCES	Most of Jay's sentences were simple sentences. Examples of coordination and subordination are given below.	

Coordination

I got this from my sister and I got my little Tonka
Big giant pick him up and say come on we go bye bye
He has the belt on you know that he talked to the old men
Oh oh the thing went off for war and they don't know what is
He stand and he draw right in the middle of them
He said soldiers war on Indian war and we gonna fight
They beat the men an' they beat the good pirates
This is a bad ship and that's a United States ship
These men gonna go on the boat and they say they have fight a war
We're on the ship and he's captain of the ship
They went to London and gone into people
The London ship is a firin' and it can do the shootin'
The men shot him off and he fell right on the boat
This about G.I. Joe and the eagle of the whole wide world and the United States flag and some G.I.'s and German fightin' a war
I put on my suit and the captain come in and say now who put that shovel in my hand

Subordination

There's a big birdie pittin' on me but they got him down beatin' him up
You go home 'cause that's cheatin'
He's the (unclear word) so he's gonna get kicked out of the army
He get kicked out of the army 'cause he was bad
You get that you naughty naughty jiney that teach you a lesson not come back no more
They both fightin' for the people to save the people
Look Davy you shoot him that was the one guy killed one of my men

(Time Sequence)

When you get the whole set can I have the whole set when you get the whole set

If they die if they dead they will bury them when they get back to the fort

When everybody all done playing with them I mean that time can I have them